

IN THESE TIMES

No Room at the Inn

for Central Americans
seeking sanctuary Page 6

Chemical dependency	3	Bad marks for apartheid	12
In search of the Rainbow	5	Synod stand-off	15
For whom Ma Bell tolls	9	Exploding Star Wars	19
Insuring healthy profits	11	Take this punk and love it	21



Lester Thurow

The Zero-Sum Solution

Zeroing in on economic woes

By David Moberg

Democrats desperately need to figure out how to manage the economy. Americans' acceptance of Ronald Reagan's ideas and performance, wacky and disastrous as those have been, are in part testimony to their belief that Democrats wouldn't do better—probably worse. That belief is not totally groundless.

Now comes Lester Thurow, an imaginative, egalitarian economist with considerably less blind faith in the marketplace than is characteristic of his profession, with a self-conscious prescription for the Democrats. *The Zero-Sum Solution: Building a World-Class Economy* (Simon and Schuster, \$18.95) is the sequel to his earlier, influential book, *The Zero-Sum Economy*. Filled with sharp analysis, good proposals and telling anecdotes, it is much better than nearly anything you are likely to hear from Democratic politicians. But it is also plagued with deep contradictions and its share of dubious nostrums.

The U.S. is slipping in world competitiveness in large part because productivity growth has not matched that of other industrial powers, Thurow argues, and that ultimately means the American standard of living will drop precipitously if we don't reverse the trend. The answer is more savings and investment (private and public) and, above all, better and different social organization, from the Federal Reserve to the factory. "Improve social organization" should be the Democratic alternative to the Republican—or neoliberal—war cry of "liberate the entrepreneur," he writes. But "improvement" by what standards? Thurow, like many policy prescribers, is deeply taken with Japan's success and finds his own message in their tea leaves. The U.S. must become a team—just like football—and work to win in the world market.

His plan is austere and painful. Personal savings must increase, consumer credit and consumption decline, wages and profits often shrink or at least be made very flexible, gasoline taxes raise by a dollar a gallon (to discourage consumption and raise federal revenue) and school time lengthen. To be palatable, such austerity must be equitable, he argues, although the "middle class" seems to take more lumps than the very rich. In any case, this part of his proposal will probably cause most Democratic politicians—if not most Democrats—to run for cover.

The Thurow principles

It is true that the U.S. now has lower personal savings and gross fixed investment than our competitors, although the figures on overall savings—including corporate savings, pension funds, etc.—look better. But as Thurow notes, in recent years business savings have exceeded investment. With more savings, would businesses invest more? True, interest rates would probably be lower, but cutbacks in consumption would dampen markets. Where would the goods be sold? To some extent, European countries have followed Thurow principles recently, and they would have had worse unemployment than they have without U.S. consumer demand. Indeed, U.S. job growth in the '70s reflected low productivity and was, ironically, a sign of weakness, Thurow argues. Cost of labor relative to capital was dropping in the U.S., partly because of the baby-boom generation entering the labor market. So firms hired people. In Europe, relative labor costs were rising. Firms bought equipment and raised productivity. So employment did not increase.

Thus there's a dilemma. Thurow laments the decline of the middle class, yet he wants to cut its income and consumption. If we were at full employment, that might make sense, but does it now? What can keep the world economic engine humming? Supply, as Thurow notes, does not create its own demand. Lower interest rates would help, and he advocates that, along with a federal budget surplus, as key Democratic strategies. But the market—the opportunity to make a profit that satisfies private investors—is not likely to be there, and without that, investment itself would be stalled.

Thurow does not want his argument to depend on readers agreeing that military spending should be cut, although he offers criticisms of how military spending is determined. He wants the U.S. to respond to the international economic war as it would to a military threat and simply figure out what is needed and spend it. But drastic reductions in military spending not only are politically desirable but also could provide much of the new investment needed without his

unappealing austerity while releasing engineering talent for commercial needs.

A high-income economy has an advantage, he notes. It provides a market for new products, and it attracts people with brains—and many without—who want to make money. But the advantage vanishes if businesses do not make the products here. Kodak, for example, developed a new videocamera idea for the U.S. market and immediately went to Japan to have it produced, never even attempting to make it here. Thurow understates the importance of U.S. firms moving overseas as an alternative to innovation in productive processes and investment domestically.

Despite the merits of high wages, Thurow argues repeatedly that auto workers, as a primary example, will have to take lower pay to compete with Japan. Yet he uses figures comparing U.S. auto cash wages at \$11.80 an hour with Japanese at \$10.27. The big difference is in benefits. A large part of that would be reduced with national health service. Another big part is for pensions (that's savings, no?). Another large part is the cost of laying off large numbers of workers. In any case is Japan the standard? Or must wages not be cut to match Korean levels? Now it is possible for advanced technologies to leapfrog ahead in countries with depressed wage levels, a comparative advantage with which it is hard to compete.

Team spirit

Ultimately, Thurow argues, the U.S. comparative advantage will come from an educated workforce that is well organized into participatory teams. Yet the U.S. now lags behind nearly every competitor in educational achievement. (Democrats should stress educational spending, but group merit pay for relative improvement, not individual merit pay, he argues.) At the workplace, work rules and pay must be much more flexible, with much of the pay taken as bonuses. This is part of the Thurow anti-inflation strategy, in which he follows economist Martin Weitzman's proposal for the "share economy," an elaborate variation on profit-sharing. (Example: if revenue per unit produced falls, wages fall, reducing costs and thus theoretically encouraging more employment.) But behind this idea is the notion that a free market guarantees full employment because wages will drop until they "clear." Such "clearing" processes in the past yielded deep recessions and much hardship, but not full employment.

Thurow certainly is correct that "soft productivity" gains could be enormous from workplaces organized to give workers security—that's one reason unionized firms tend to have higher productivity—a greater voice, more involvement and less supervision. The biggest productivity gains, he says, must come from cutting the bloated white-collar ranks of American industry. But Thurow's insistence on the "firm" as the unit of society—even to the point of suggesting that society's "safety net" should be privatized—overly exalts the corporation. It is true that the economy might benefit from greater long-term commitment from its employees and definitely needs a longer-term perspective by managers, but there are alternatives to becoming indentured to the corporation in lifetime peonage. "Team spirit" can do a lot, but it must be a democratic team, not a paternalistic one. And it is naive or dangerous to reorganize society and not recognize that conflicts between workers and owners/managers will arise in any system and that workers are entitled to their own autonomous means of organization.

Although ultimately not convincing me, Thurow makes as strong an argument as possible for a value-added tax instead of either corpo-

THE INSIDER STORY

rate or personal income tax, with features to make it more progressive. But despite his egalitarian ambitions, his plans would do little to change distribution of wealth. "Basically the Democratic Party should lead the way to a higher-investment, lower-consumption society, but in doing so it should emphasize both public and private investment—not just private investment," he concludes. Productivity growth is essential, and that requires investment, but full employment—Thurow's quite correct alternative to the dole—seems at best a chancy by-product (unless you are persuaded by the share economy argument).

An early advocate of industrial policies, Thurow sees tripartite groups of business, labor and government cooperating in research, reducing costs and performing "industrial triage." That involves speeding, rather than slowing, market forces, he argues, yet not picking winners or losers. He makes a persuasive case for public investment banking—with different aims from the private investment banking he sees as essential to give business long-term support and heavy debt. Likewise, he would insist on a public-equity stake in return for all business assistance, including the short-term protection of industries he reluctantly countenances in special cases. He would have central banks regulate exchange rates more carefully and have governments coordinate fiscal/monetary policies and renegotiate international terms of trade, including a write-down of much Third World debt. He would negotiate with Japan a limit to the U.S. annual trade deficit, leaving them to choose which products to sell.

Lester Thurow's basic argument—that better social organization is needed to remedy U.S. economic ills—is sound. Yet he does not push it as far as it should go, relying too heavily on the corporation, too little on public institutions in various forms. Likewise, competitiveness may be necessary, but neither it nor even a "world-class economy" is the goal. On many of those ultimate ends, the Japanese war-team approach to economics falls short.



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By Diana Johnstone

MAINZ, WEST GERMANY

GERMANS BEGAN WORRYING about chemical weapons after U.S. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) appeared on a TV show called *Monitor* in April 1981 warning that the Pentagon was preparing a new generation of C-weapons to be stored in Germany. Referring to planned binary nerve gas weapons, Hatfield noted that "there is little point in storing these weapons in the U.S. Eventually they belong on the potential battlefield—and that is Europe. Our friends must accept them and that includes West Germany. Therefore, I would like to know more precisely what the Germans think of having such weapons stationed on their soil."

Alarmed Germans responded by trying to make it clear what they thought of such a project. Prominent among them was Julius Lehlbach, the outspoken chairman of the German trade union confederation DGB for Rhineland-Palatinate, a state with more than its share of U.S. military bases. In 1982 SIPRI Yearbook disclosed that the U.S. was storing some 10,000 tons of old munitions containing nerve gas in the Fischbach depot in Rhineland-Palatinate, not far from the French border. A movement against poison gas sprung up in Pirmasens, the main town in the Fischbach area.

Lehlbach kicked off his campaign by writing to top German officials, but they could not tell him much. It was only in 1971 that Chancellor Willy Brandt got President Richard Nixon to promise to keep the Bonn government regularly informed of U.S. weapons on German soil. But state and local authorities are kept in the dark. There are no emergency measures to protect the civilian population in case of leaks like the one that killed thousands of sheep in Utah. Although the identity of storage sites is unclassified in the U.S., in other countries both sites and quantities are secret. A footnote to U.S. Army Regulation 380/86 on "Secret Classification of Chemical Warfare and Biological Research Data" (May 1976) says, "The sole fact that the U.S. maintains stocks of lethal chemicals in Germany is unclassified. Classification attaches to specific location."

At its congress in May 1982 the DGB, representing eight million union members, unanimously passed a resolution introduced by Lehlbach demanding removal or destruction of American poison gas stored in West Germany. Even Bonn government experts expressed doubt as to the "deterrent" value of a weapon that would massacre the civilian population. *Der Spiegel* reported in 1982 that soldiers were equipped to survive a poison gas attack. Up to 98 percent of military personnel might be spared, although 98 percent of civilians in the area would die.

The administration line

While Germans were expressing what they thought of having such weapons on their soil, the Reagan administration was not showing the same concern for their views as Hatfield. The U.S. broke off bilateral talks with the Soviets on chemical weapons in July 1980. The Reagan administration has persistently sought to get congressional appropriations for manufacturing binary nerve gas, gradually wearing down the resistance of original opponents like Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI). In its plans for "Airland Battle 2000," the U.S. Army is preparing to fight "from the outset" on a "conventional-nuclear-chemical-electronic battlefield." New mini-missiles will be able to be equipped with conventional, nuclear or chemical (binary) shells.

It may be that the chemical industry wants its share of Pentagon contracts. At any rate, the U.S. did not ratify the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning use of chemical weapons until 1975, and almost immediately a campaign began casting doubt on international agreements as a means to stop use of chemical weapons. This cam-

A dangerous new chemical dependency

paigned by the eager acceptance of extremely flimsy evidence—some leaves—taken to indicate that the Vietnamese had used chemical weapons in Laos. Overlooking scientific refutations, the Reagan administration and its allies talk about "Soviet use of chemical weapons" in Southeast Asia as if it were an established fact—which it is not.

The eagerness to believe this story is in itself suspect, as it is used as an excuse *not* to make an agreement to end production and storage—as well as forbid use—of chemical weapons. The Reagan administration has taken up the right-wing propaganda line that it is impossible to make *any* agreement with the Soviets because they "cheat." Underlying the "cheating" argument is another assumption—laws and agreements, by restraining the powerful, favor the weak. Since the U.S. is powerful, that means agreements favor its enemies. So the U.S. should count on its superior force, unhampered by international treaties and conventions. Since there is still a little hesitation about saying this openly, stress is placed on the need to "verify" agreements to keep the Soviets from cheating.

The USSR has submitted a draft convention to the 40-nation conference in Geneva on chemical weapons providing for destruction of all chemical weapons over a 10-year period. It is not true that the USSR, as U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Kenneth Adelman puts it, has just said "Nyet, nyet, nyet" to verification. The Soviets have proposed a system of supervision combining national and international control committees. International inspectors would permanently supervise destruction of C-weapon stocks and regularly inspect manufacture of authorized quotas of hypertoxic substances. Plants manufacturing C-weapons would be dismantled. Each state could ask another to explain suspected violations and, if not satisfied, request on-site inspection.

When it was spelled out in February 1984, Bonn welcomed the Soviet proposal for international inspection as encouraging and voiced hope for rapid conclusion of an agreement. The Reagan administration responded on April 18, 1984, by presenting a new concept of "inspection by permanent invitation" to the 40-nation Geneva confer-

ence. International inspectors would be free to investigate at all times and without notice all chemical companies "owned or controlled by the state."

To German observers, this proposal was proof the U.S. was not serious about a chemical weapons ban. Soviet chemical installations are *all* "owned or controlled by the state," whereas American companies are private. The USSR obviously could not accept such a one-sided proposal.

U.S. officials told journalists that the

Critic Julius Lehlbach wants to get chemical weapons cleared out of West Germany—and Europe—as soon as possible.

Soviets rejected verification, and that is what the reporters wrote. In September Bernard Gwertzman wrote in the *New York Times* that "Moscow has rejected the American insistence on verification of Soviet chemical factories to ensure that they are not producing weapons. Talks in Geneva on a global ban on chemical weapons have not gotten anywhere, U.S. officials said."

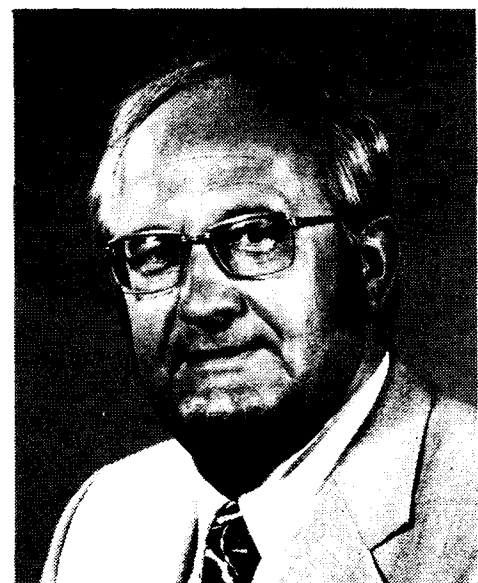
This is one example of the need for "confidence-building measures" to overcome mutual distrust. If Americans think Soviets would use every uninspected installation to manufacture C-weapons on the sly, Soviets suspect Americans would use permanent inspection to "disrupt production and engage in industrial espionage."

Julius Lehlbach explains the American attitude by pointing out that gas is a battlefield weapon. As Hatfield said, the battle will be fought in Europe. Since the U.S. is not threatened by a gas war on its own territory, it has less interest than others

in banning it.

Since Germans are more directly concerned, they should do something themselves, Lehlbach concluded. He wrote to both West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and East German party leader Erich Honecker urging them to get rid of Soviet and American chemical weapons stationed on German soil.

In the summer of 1984 the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) began to consult with the East German Communist Party (SED) on the problem. Last June, the SPD's Karsten Voigt and the SED's Hermann Axen concluded a Draft Treaty for a Chemical Weapons Free Zone (CWFZ) in Europe. The CWFZ would include at least the two German states and Czechoslovakia (whose government has voiced assent) and could be extended to Central Europe as defined by NATO and the Warsaw Pact at the



Klaus Benz

Vienna talks—that is, to include Poland and the Benelux countries. A system of national and international controls is envisaged similar to the Soviet proposal for a global ban.

The German parties explained that a CWFZ would be both "a step in arms limitations and disarmament as well as an essential confidence building measure." It would provide useful experience for a global ban. Regional measures, the Germans noted, are easier and quicker to carry out because they concentrate on withdrawal of C-weapons rather than their destruction, a more time-consuming process. The regional ban "would make a war with chemical weapons in Europe as good as impossible."

The Germans left open the question of whether chemicals that primarily destroy the environment—such as the "defoliators" the U.S. used in Vietnam—are to be included among chemical weapons. Their Draft Treaty calls for the International Commission to set up a data bank of scientific and technical information relating to problems of banning C-weapons. An annual colloquium would be held.

SPD leaders have said that if they come to office in 1987 they will seek to make the treaty a reality. It is a model that could be extended geographically, or to other categories of weapons, such as nuclear weapons. At a meeting with SPD leader Johannes Rau in September, Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachov said the USSR would agree to withdraw their chemical weapons from Eastern Europe if the U.S. did the same from West Germany.

Historic step

The CWFZ Treaty thus appears a *feasible* step toward stopping the arms race and breaking down the military blocs. It is comparable to New Zealand's ban on nuclear warships, but even more momentous in its implications. Junior members of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact would in effect be giving orders to the superpowers to withdraw their weapons.

But one can doubt this will ever happen. Because, for one thing, the historic SPD-SED initiative has aroused surprisingly little support from peace movements or citizens in other NATO countries, while it has been flatly dismissed and rejected by the U.S. The project does not seem to be gather-

Continued on page 8

Sign pointing to U.S. chemical weapons depot at Fischbach in West Germany



Diana Johnstone

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

THE FLOW CHARTS HAVE BEEN drawn, a national staff has been hired and on December 13-14 the National Rainbow Coalition held its first conference devoted strictly to building a nuts-and-bolts organization. Will the group confound its critics and evolve into a truly organized force in U.S. politics, or will it merely serve as a platform for the alliterative insights of its charismatic chair, Rev. Jesse Jackson?

That question, though asked frequently by many on the left, is actually a bit disingenuous. It's based on the presumption that the 1984 Jackson campaign was badly disorganized and mismanaged. But, although much of Jackson's staff was put together on an ad-hoc basis, the campaign was at least as well organized as those of the other major candidates.

"The criticism that we lacked organization is a bum rap," said Marion Barry, Washington, D.C., mayor and an ardent Rainbow supporter. He said the misconception was spread by the press and readily accepted by those who rather indulge their prejudices than do their own research. Barry noted that for many in this country black-led is synonymous with disorganized.

"I've talked to people who were involved in both the [Walter] Mondale and [Gary] Hart campaigns before they joined on with Jesse, and they told me that Jesse's campaign was by far the most organized," Barry said. "Look at it this way: the Rainbow Coalition is the only political campaign that has managed to pay all of its bills."

And that rare pecuniary feat wasn't the Jackson campaign's only achievement. Despite an inexperienced team and persistent charges of anti-Semitism, Jackson garnered 3.5 million votes—or 21 percent of the total. He brought 465.5 delegates to the San Francisco convention—11 percent of the total—which was a number way beyond the predictions of the political pundits, but far from commensurate with his elections percentages.

Jackson won 61 congressional districts, finished either first or second in 10 races and carried at least 20 percent of the vote in six others. "We also had more non-black support than Hart or Mondale had non-white support, yet the press never accused them of running 'white campaigns,'" Jackson noted. "And on top of that, 25 percent of our support had never registered or voted before."

Coalition members consistently emphasize the Jackson campaign's remarkable success record. Yet if they didn't, it's a safe bet no one else would (see accompanying story). The media depicts the Rainbow Coalition as an inept bunch of idealists out of their element in the hard-ball game of national politics. And although Jackson remains an articulate, uncompromising voice for a left option in national politics, he receives woefully little support from the white left. Most observers cite the following

Support for Jackson is increasing among whites in the peace movement.

reasons for this lack of support:

- Jackson's "Hymie-Hymietown" gaffe provoked suspicions he truly may be anti-Jewish;
- Jackson's links to Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan caused many to question his political judgement; and
- white Americans are traditionally reluctant to follow black leadership.

Whites in the Rainbow?

Conferees devoted much discussion on ways to alter that pattern, but they reached a consensus only on the notion that increased responsibility should be placed on



(l. to r.) New York Assemblyman Arthur Eve, Rev. Herbert Doughty of the Black United Front, Rev. Jesse Jackson and D.C. Mayor Marion Barry at the Coalition conference.

POLITICS

New horizons for Rainbow Coalition

white coalition members to deliver more of their constituency.

"It's traditional in this country for whites to expect black support," said David Cortright, executive director of SANE and one of the peace movement's most enthusiastic advocates of Rainbow politics. "But the only way we can build effective coalitions is for whites to give reciprocal support," he added. "Whites have a lot of political responsibility to begin working in serious alliances with black leadership."

Cortright accompanied Jackson to the Geneva summit and has made several appearances with him around the country. He said he's decided to become a more visible element of the Rainbow Coalition because it "may trigger the realization in a lot of white progressives and peace movement people that Jesse Jackson is a tireless and powerful spokesman for our issues, and we should support him as much as we can."

Jackson also realizes Cortright's value as a symbol of interracial cooperation and he has carefully cultivated their relationship. Accordingly, Cortright said, support for Jackson seems to be increasing among whites in the peace movement.

Chicago Mayor Harold Washington told conferees that the forces of reaction are increasing their attempts to "hold back the dawn," and he urged the Coalition to fight against these forces with renewed enthusiasm. Washington's appearance at the conference scotched widespread reports that Chicago's mayor was attempting to distance himself from Jackson.

"It's a pretty tough job being a black mayor in the land of the free and home of the brave, so it's truly inspiring to be among friends and allies," Washington said. He explained how his white opponents were pulling out all stops to prevent him from scoring any successes.

"And now, since demographics tell them they can no longer win on strict appeals to racism, they're trying to change the rules of the 150-year-old game by proposing non-partisan elections," he added. "What's worse is the press and many other institutions seem to be on their side. If we are to defeat these benighted forces, we must do it in concert and Rainbow is the word. There's

an awful lot riding on your shoulders."

That sense of grave responsibility was the unofficial theme of the December conference. From the outset it was clear that the meeting would not be just another gathering of Jackson groupies. The rhetoric was spare, the press was restricted and the delegates seemed anxious to begin the tedious task of organizing.

"Most of us here are veterans of the days when rhetorical catharsis was all we expected at a conference," said Alice Palmer, vice chair of the Chicago-based Black Press Institute. "We're also aware of the problems that result from a dependence on charisma-

Silver linings

The National Rainbow Coalition has put many notches on its belt since its sudden inception in 1984. In addition to outpolling more established candidates in the '84 elections, the Jackson-led group has added more than two million voters to the rolls. It has brought increased focus on the issue of fairness in the Democratic Party and thus opened the door for increased participation of minorities and women. In fact, the Coalition's emphasis on gender equality is cited by many as the impetus for the inclusion of Geraldine Ferraro on the Democratic ticket.

What's more, for the first time in a national political campaign, foreign-policy issues concerning the Third World and South Africa were given a thorough hearing, in spite of the media's reluctance to air such issues.

Jackson's insistence on negotiated settlements in key areas like Central America and the Mideast brought a measure of sobriety to a nation seemingly intoxicated by the notion of military intervention.

And, what is perhaps more important than all the rest, the group changed the psychological climate for many of this country's locked-out minority groups. Jackson's juggernaut campaign brought feelings of pride and accomplishment to many who had few reasons for such feelings in the past. —S.M.

tic leadership. So we've come here with serious, disciplined work on our minds. I think this conference has pointed us in the right direction in terms of organizing our focus."

What direction?

The Rainbow Coalition's newly appointed chief of staff, Yolanda Caraway, is the former special assistant to Democratic National Committee Chair Paul Kirk. Since Jackson's supporters have been at odds with Kirk about the fairness of the Democratic Party's slate-making and delegating processes, Caraway's appointment carries more than a little symbolic significance.

"Generally, we are focusing on establishing a state-by-state national organization," Caraway told *In These Times*. "In early April, we will hold a larger, more comprehensive national convention and we will begin mobilizing for political battles in key congressional and state elections."

More specifically, she said, the Coalition will launch its own study of the Democratic National Convention and various Democratic state organizations to find out "if we're getting a fair return on our political investment. We must have mutually beneficial relations with the party if it expects our continued support," Caraway said.

The organization is also planning a demonstration on the first national commemoration of Martin Luther King's birthday to protest what they say is the refusal of the Reagan Justice Department to enforce the Voting Rights Act. Jackson will also participate in a Central American "peace march" from Panama to Mexico City, scheduled for late January.

"The Rainbow Coalition wants to maintain an international presence," said longtime Jackson aide Frank Watkins. "Our international credibility was greatly boosted by our Geneva meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov."

According to Watkins, Jackson has received an outpouring of new Jewish support following his session with Gorbachov. "His questions to Gorbachov on the problems of Soviet Jews has brought in tons of complimentary comments in the mail." Still, he noted, "those who oppose our Mideast policy are still trying to drive a wedge between the Jewish community and Rev. Jackson."

New York Assemblyman Albert Vann, one of many politicians attending the conference, said the time is ripe for a group like the Coalition. "I see this organization as the vanguard of a new social and political movement in this country. You can almost feel the tide beginning to turn."

If Vann's prediction comes true, there's little doubt that Jackson will be riding the crest of that turning tide.

By Dennis Bernstein & Connie Blitt

TUCSON

SIXTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD DUNCAN Murphy stood up, poured a vial of his own blood over his hands and slapped them against the walls of this city's courtroom, where 11 sanctuary workers face charges of conspiring to aid and abet "illegal aliens." He then declared, "The blood of Central American martyrs is on all of our hands and heads." In a subsequent interview, Murphy revealed that he had been one of the liberators of the Nazi concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen, where he heard "the same stories of torture and death" from the holocaust survivors as he now hears from refugees fleeing conflict and repression in Central America.

Because of the rigid restrictions that U.S. District Judge Earl H. Carroll has placed on what can be discussed during the trial, Murphy's courtroom outburst may be one of the few times that some of the larger issues at stake in the sanctuary movement are addressed.

Ironically, the prosecution's success in barring evidence concerning the dangers that cause Salvadorans and Guatemalans to flee their homelands, or the defendants' religious motivations, or the grounding of their actions in U.S. and international law, has backed Special Assistant U.S. Attorney Donald M. Reno into a corner from which he may never escape.

"It's a flawed strategy for the government to depend on keeping the truth from the jury," said former rancher and long-time pacifist James Corbett, one of 11 defendants charged in the government's 44-count indictment. "He [Reno] is discovering that the very restrictions put on the defense are restricting the government's ability to present its case."

In a last-minute decision as the trial was about to begin, Reno withdrew what was to be the bulk of the prosecution's evidence: 91 tapes made covertly by its two well-paid undercover informers. This shocked defense lawyers who had spent hundreds of hours pouring over the tapes in preparation for the trial.

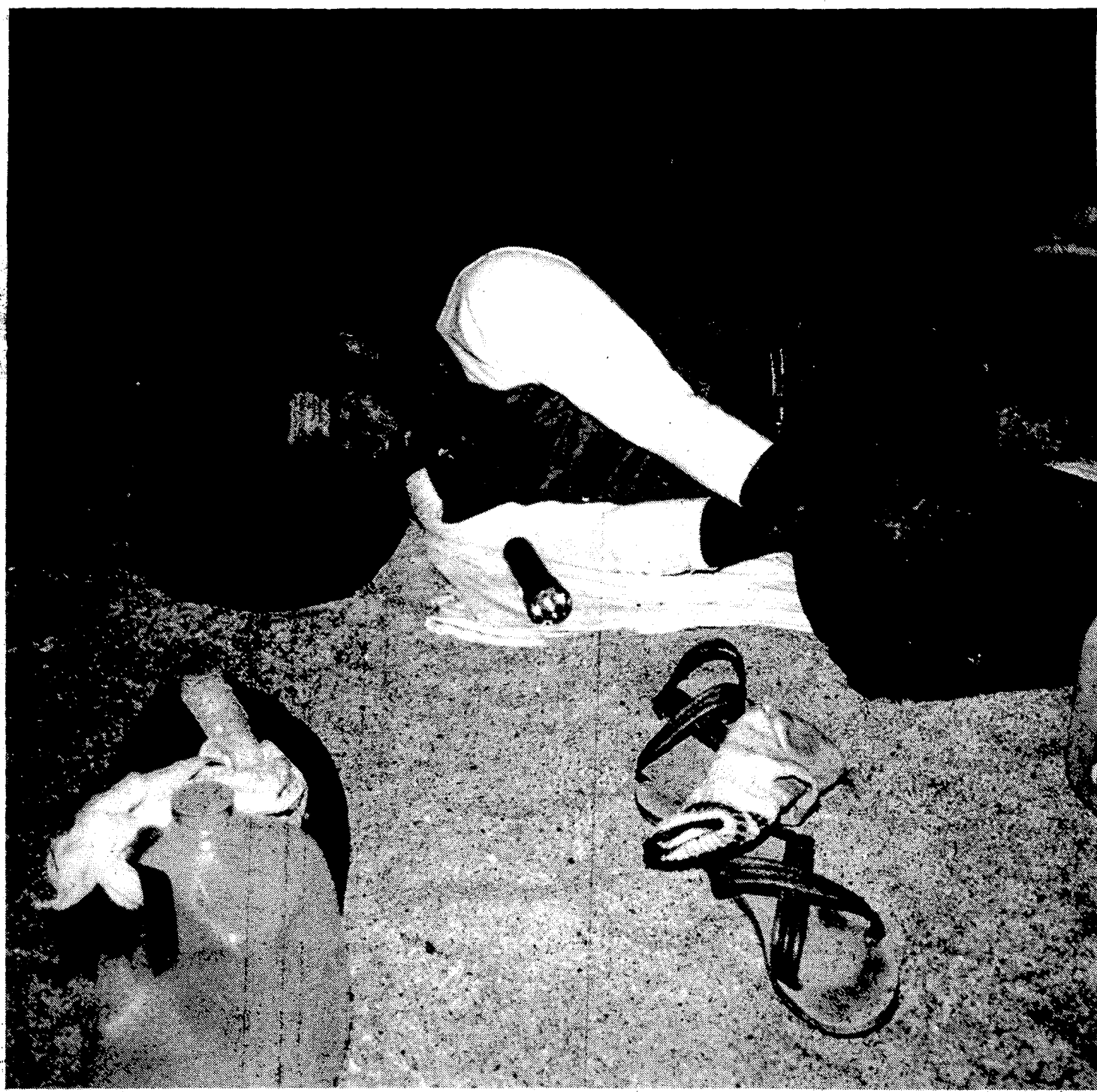
Although Reno claimed the change was "merely the prosecution's direction on strategy," it is clear that the recordings, secretly gathered during numerous visits to church services, Bible study groups and sanctuary meetings, not only would have exposed actions the government considers illegal, but also would have allowed the jury to hear discussions of the defendants' religious and humanitarian motivations for such actions.

Because of the decision to exclude the tapes—which cost thousands of tax dollars to compile and transcribe—the government must now rely mainly on the testimony of Jesus Cruz, one of its two primary sanctuary infiltrators. Cruz and his housemate Salomon Graham—seasoned "coyotes" who are known by the government to have smuggled hundreds of illegal workers over the U.S. border for a profit—were paid \$30,000 during a 10-month period for infiltrating the sanctuary movement.

Graham, however, was discredited when defense lawyers discovered that, while working as a government informer in the sanctuary investigation, he had provided prostitutes for farmworkers in at least one migrant labor camp. After the information became public the government decided to withdraw Graham as a key witness rather than face the spectacle of having the "People of the United States" represented by a confirmed pimp. As the trial continues the prosecution is attempting to salvage the credibility of Jesus Cruz, who has been characterized, even by the government, as an "alien smuggler" who has dealt in "peonage" and "slavery."

From the top down

During the Carter years "religious and social groups were given office space in some district Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS] offices to facilitate their provision of humanitarian assistance to refugees," said Leonel Castillo, INS commissioner from 1977-79, in an affidavit filed in connection with the sanctuary trial. But



Philip Decker

SANCTUARY

Disorder in the court as a flimsy case puts conscience on trial



Carlos (l.) and Irma (r.) Alvarez show reporter Dennis Bernstein the location of their home.

times have changed. With increased U.S. support leading to stepped-up war in El Salvador and further repression in Guatemala, the refugee flow has increased—and their growing numbers in this country have become an embarrassment to the Reagan administration. Because sanctuary churches not only offer refugees shelter and food but also a platform from which to criticize the brutal conditions in their homelands (and the U.S. foreign policy that furthers these

conditions), the movement has become the target of direct attacks from Washington.

Testimony given by government Chief Investigator James Rayburn seems to support defense contentions that the sanctuary case is "clearly political" and that it is directed from "the top down." Rayburn testified that for the first time in his 15 years with the INS, this investigation was begun at the request of INS' Washington headquarters, and he traveled there in November

1984 to meet personally with INS Commissioner Alan Nelson. According to sanctuary lawyer James Brosnahan, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese has shown an interest in the case and has attended at least one meeting specifically to discuss the sanctuary case.

The government estimates that sanctuary workers aid in the safe passage of 10 refugees a month. Ironically, the infamous "coyotes" are paid high prices to smuggle hundreds of people a day, and large commercial U.S. ranches openly advertise in Mexico for undocumented laborers, sometimes aiding in their transportation. The Arizona Farm Workers Union maintains that more than 300 migrant workers have died in recent years as they attempted to cross the vast desert between the Mexican border and several large ranches.

Yet according to the defense motion to dismiss the trial due to selective prosecution, "Not one rancher has been indicted for the human carnage resulting from their illegal inducement and encouragement of these aliens." One such ranch, the WhiteWing, was raided on November 8 and more than 50 illegal workers were taken into custody, but no ranch officials were arrested.

Defense attorneys, citing a "possible conflict of interest," unsuccessfully sought to have Judge Carroll disqualify himself from hearing the arguments pertaining to selective prosecution because of his stock holdings in Valley National Bank, which owns WhiteWing Ranch.

The defense counsel, further alleging judicial bias and conflict of interest, attempted to have the judge removed from the case because of his investments in Phelps-Dodge, Inc., noting that Carroll's former

Connie Blitt

Refugees on their way north bed down for the night.

from Central Americans, Judge Carroll threatened him with contempt of court. Although the judge had ruled out such references, the defense asserted that prosecutor Reno's "clumsy" opening statements had opened many political doors that they were obliged to walk through in an attempt to fully represent their clients. Butler later told *In These Times* that the court's limitations and its obvious dual-standard in enforcing them made him feel like he had entered a judicial "twilight zone."

As a former U.S. district attorney from Arizona who considers himself "an advocate of strong law enforcement," Butler headed the prosecution of hundreds of cases against those who illegally transported aliens, but believes his client, Phil Willis-Conger, and the rest of the sanctuary defendants have committed no crimes; they have been involved in a "civilian initiative" as specifically mandated under the terms of the Geneva Convention. (Distinct from civil disobedience, in which a law is broken because it is unjust or for the greater good of humanity, "civilian initiative" is taken when a government fails to abide by its own laws, such as the 1980 Refugee Act that provides protection from those fleeing armed conflict or human rights abuses.)

Witness for the prosecution

Jesus Cruz, the mainstay of the government's case, was the first to take the witness stand in the sanctuary trial, now in its tenth week. Without consulting notes, Cruz fluidly recounted names, dates and details of incidents that he claimed took place during his 10-month undercover investigation of the sanctuary movement in 1984. Speaking through a translator, he told the jury how he had contacted Rev. Ramon Dagoberto Quinones, one of the defendants who is the pastor of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe church in Nogales, Mexico, and Maria del Socorro Pardo Aguilar, another defendant who lives in Nogales.

Aguilar's home was well known as a shelter, not only for Central Americans, but for anyone who arrived at her doorstep in need. Masquerading as a person motivated by deep religious belief, Cruz began running errands for the recently widowed Aguilar, and soon became a trusted companion with whom she would say her rosaries and pray, not realizing that their communications with God and about "helping the people" were being covertly recorded.

"It is sad to know people who, for money, are capable of anything," said Aguilar after Cruz' first day of testimony. "All the bad, the false. It gives me much sorrow."

Father Quinones—whose church in Nogales, Mexico, includes a free medical and dental clinic, a soup kitchen, a nursing home and a shelter for homeless children—was accused by Cruz of pocketing money

The prosecution balked at having the "People of the U.S." represented by a pimp.

from his sanctuary activities. According to testimony, however, Cruz' paycheck from the U.S. government makes him the only person to profit from sanctuary activities.

Quinones commented after hearing Cruz testify, "He lied about his faith in God in order to serve the government of the U.S." Both Quinones and Aguilar voluntarily crossed the border into the U.S. to face prosecution and possible jail sentences of 20 years or more, "in order to stand for the truth with my brothers and sisters," Quinones said.

Before the end of Cruz' direct testimony, defense lawyers had questioned his ability to report accurately on meetings he had attended that were conducted in English. They insisted, and the judge agreed, that he should report on those meetings in En-

Continued on following page

Refugees' road to nowhere

The scent of the sea and the lush countryside of their homeland are not something that Irma and Carlos Alvarez will easily confine to memory. Although their native Guatemala is one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere—and the young couple had treated many poor people in their modest, in-house pharmacy—they themselves were not needy.

Their small pueblo pharmacy in Las Cruces, in Guatemala's extreme south, was an integral part of the local health-care system. Carlos, with his wife's assistance, took pride in being able to administer to the medical needs of friends and neighbors who were often too poor to make the 30-mile trip to the nearest doctor or unable to afford essential medicines.

"The work we did was very important," said Carlos Alvarez, now employed as a truck driver for a commercial laundry in Tucson, Ariz. "We were able to gain the affection of almost the entire pueblo."

Indeed, the life Irma, Carlos and their three children left behind in Guatemala was precious to them. "For me it was very sad," lamented Irma Alvarez. "Life in my country was full of love in all that I did."

In fact, only after a series of nearby massacres and threats on Carlos' life did the Alvarizes consider fleeing from the only future they had ever imagined. "It began when they started kidnapping people from our village," said Irma. "The first victim was my husband's uncle (who gave Carlos his medical books and helped train him to be a pharmacist). He was kidnapped and then eight days later he was found terribly mutilated."

After weeks of fear and unceasing rumors of torture—and nights of Carlos hiding in the bushes—the military death squad finally came. Fortunately, the Alvarizes had been warned the night before by a friend: "I know they are coming to get you." At 11:00 p.m. on Jan. 11, 1982, Irma and the children joined Carlos to "keep watch in the brush."

Soon, the many horrible stories they had heard from relatives and friends became their own reality. By the light of a full moon they watched as a convoy of military vehicles, including "a large, green camouflage army truck," pulled up to their door and heavily armed soldiers surrounded the house-pharmacy. The soldiers began firing machine guns and throwing hand grenades into the Alvarez residence. From their hiding place the family could hear them screaming, "Carlos, Carlos, we are your friends." The barrage lasted about 10 minutes and then "thick columns of smoke began to rise."

The Alvarizes fled into the night, with two sleeping children in their arms, another running alongside, and nothing but darkness and distance to greet them. They were on the refugees' road to nowhere with little money and less hope.

Their friend and former neighbor in Las Cruces, Alberto Alvarez, was also among the massacre victims and lost most of his family during the fiery, early morning siege. "They got to our house first. I was about 35 yards away. I told my wife that we should get out, that we should run away because it was the end of the world. The children began to cry. We heard real bullets whistling everywhere."

Alberto's parents, two siblings, several nieces and nephews and his pregnant sister-in-law lay dead in the aftermath. "The same night they massacred our families," said Alberto, "that night they 'massacred' Carlos. They destroyed the pharmacy. They destroyed it with machine-gun bullets."

According to Alberto, he and Carlos were labeled "Communists," and their families were attacked because they "looked out for humanity" and "sympathized" with the poor.

Carlos, Irma and their children managed to hide for three months in

Guatemala City while the army hunted them, harassed their friends and beat Carlos' elderly father for five days, according to Carlos. Eventually, they made their way to Mexico, where Carlos searched for work, but could find none. From Mexico they crossed into the U.S. with the help of members of the sanctuary movement.

"We arrived 2,000 kilometers within Mexico and then came here to be as far away as possible so that the Guatemalan



Exhibit for the defense

officials could not come and kill us." Once in the U.S., the Alvarizes received the kind of social and material support that made their loss bearable. "We never expected to find such good-hearted and dedicated people who gave us so much," said Carlos.

Sanctuary members helped the Alvarez family establish a residence in Tucson, Ariz., and arranged for them to apply for political asylum. Fortunately, theirs was one of three cases in the U.S. in which Guatemalans were granted political asylum in fiscal 1984. Their lawyer, Roger Wolf, attributes this to the amount of documentation they were able to amass showing that the Alvarizes had been persecuted. This included a photograph of the bullet holes in their front door taken at great risk by American photographer Stephen Claborne who stated in a sworn affidavit that he saw "at least 10 other houses [and many farms] that were abandoned." (See photo above.) Claborne also noted in his affidavit that he was warned in Mexico City by a priest and many Guatemalan refugees that the military would harm him "just for being found in this condemned town, and especially for showing interest in the homes that had been bombed."

Despite the documentation provided to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in the Alvarez case, INS officials have appealed their case, maintaining that the young Guatemalan couple, like hundreds of thousands of others who have fled to this country in recent years, are economic refugees merely seeking to better their financial circumstances and should be deported.

The Alvarizes strongly disagree. They are convinced, along with their attorney and relatives still in Guatemala, that "the government is very mistaken as to why Central Americans come here," Carlos said. "They don't want the world to understand the great human-rights violations happening in our country, so they say we are economic refugees and send us back to die."

"We did not come here for a better job or to see the streets lined with gold," said Irma, who now cleans houses to help make ends meet. "We had the good life in Guatemala. Even though we were eating beans or just tortillas with salt, we were happy because we were in our country."

-D.B.



law firm represented the huge, union-busting conglomerate. One of the Salvadoran unindicted co-conspirators, Lucio Chavez, was tortured and fled to the U.S. because of his union organizing efforts while employed by the Phelps-Dodge Salvadoran subsidiary CONELCA. Sanctuary workers allegedly aided him in bringing his six children to this country. The motion was subsequently denied by Superior Court Judge Bilby, whose late brother was a managerial director at Phelps-Dodge.

Opening arguments

During his four hours of opening arguments on November 15, prosecutor Donald Reno attempted to convey the impression that the 11 sanctuary defendants were part of a "typical alien smuggling" ring, "a criminal enterprise," consisting of three tiers with "generals" and "chief executive officers" leading the way for a lower echelon of "transporters and smugglers," with those lowest in rank participating in "the Nogales connection." Among the "generals" in the alleged "criminal conspiracy," is Rev. John Fife of Southside Presbyterian Church, James A. Corbett, a Harvard graduate and a Quaker, and Sister Darlene Nicgorski, who taught in Guatemala until the slaying of her pastor and threats on her life forced her to flee.

During the prosecution's opening presentation, "general" Nicgorski jotted down her own interpretation of the government's main charge: "The conspiracy in which we are involved is really one of love with justice. This 'conspiracy' is really the church fulfilling its mission to be for the poor and the oppressed."

During the next two days, the 13 defense lawyers, delicately staying within Judge Carroll's narrow guidelines, told the jury of their clients' backgrounds, including their futile efforts to work with the INS, which subsequently led to the formation of the sanctuary movement. Corbett was once locked up at INS border headquarters for attempting to advocate for Central Americans about to be deported without being apprised of their rights.

When defense attorney A. Bates Butler III pointed out that the INS has a policy of summarily denying asylum applications

Continued from preceding page

glish. His testimony in English often proved unintelligible, however. And Cruz himself, in response to a question by Judge Carroll, described his facility with the English language by saying, "I understand some things, but not correctly."

Upon hearing Cruz' response, defense attorney Butler had trouble suspending his disbelief. "In a conspiracy case that depends on conversations between defendants," he said, "we cannot rely on the hunches of the government's witness as to what was said."

Once the cross-examination began, Cruz' self-assured facade began to crumble. Under the questioning of Robert Hirsh, attorney for Rev. Fife, Cruz admitted that since the undercover investigation ended in November 1984, he has been paid more than \$10,000 by the government. Although much of the money was supposedly witness fees, the defense filed a motion to have Cruz' testimony stricken from the record, contending that the money was actually for training sessions in which he was coached by the prosecution.

In comparing the high fees Cruz received for his work infiltrating the sanctuary movement to the lesser fees earned in previous undercover operations, Hirsh stumbled upon another irregularity. Cruz volunteered that Chief Investigator Rayburn had allowed him to keep \$1,500 in payments from "aliens" he had smuggled while investigating a smuggling and transporting ring. Also

under cross-examination by Hirsh, Cruz made the astounding admission that he had lied under oath during a 1982 federal smuggling trial to protect the government's case.

In a substantial victory for the defense, Judge Carroll ruled that Cruz will not be allowed to relate hearsay statements that he allegedly heard refugees make regarding activities of the sanctuary workers, because the government failed to make "a good faith effort" to locate the refugees in order to have them speak for themselves. But, as in the Texas case against sanctuary workers Jack Elder and Stacy Merkt, the government is expected to be successful in persuading some of the more vulnerable refugees, who face almost certain death if deported, to testify in exchange for being able to remain in the U.S.

An angry confrontation occurred in the Tucson courtroom when attorney Hirsh asked Cruz if he had received communion while wearing "body bugs" at the wedding of one of the defendants, Philip Willis-Conger. Carroll maintained that the question was a violation of his order that excludes testimony regarding religious beliefs. He characterized the question as "clearly inflammatory."

But defense attorney James Brosnahan insisted that Cruz' "abilities to deceive are a vital issue." The exchange grew heated and finally Judge Carroll ordered Brosnahan to sit down.

Judge Carroll's obvious hostility toward the defense has remained palpable in the

courtroom throughout the proceedings, which are expected to continue until early March. But, as defendant Peggy Hutchison pointed out recently, the overriding issue is not what is happening in the courtroom. "The story is what continues to happen outside the courtroom...in El Salvador," where refugee camps "are being bombed by U.S.-supplied aircraft—bombs that kill innocent children and mothers—and that we pay for."

It seems clear that whatever the trial's

outcome, the sanctuary movement will continue to grow. The number of churches and synagogues participating as sanctuaries has nearly doubled since the Tucson indictments, and Los Angeles has just become the 11th U.S. city to declare itself a sanctuary, making its estimated 300,000 refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador eligible for social services and less vulnerable to economic exploitation.

Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt are covering the Tucson trial for *In These Times*.

Chemicals

Continued from page 3

ing the American support it needs to combat the lobby for binary chemical weapons.

The Reagan administration dismissed Gorbachov's endorsement of the German CWFZ proposal as a "repackaging of proposals we have heard before." White House spokesman Larry Speakes claimed that verification would be even harder than for a global ban as it would be "impossible to detect movement of chemical weapons into the zone."

House Armed Services Committee Chair Aspin echoed administration positions by calling such a CWFZ a "meaningless gesture." "At bottom," commented Claudia Wright in the *New Statesman*, "Aspin opposes any attempt by the European states to break out of the arms negotiating framework set by the superpowers."

This was the way Adelman's opposition looked to Europeans at the Socialist International (SI) disarmament conference held in Vienna in October. The SI endorsed the German CWFZ initiative as providing "a model for regional solutions of arms reductions, transgressing the frontiers of blocs, and demonstrating that verifiable disarmament steps, including international on-site inspections, are possible once both sides are committed to cooperate."

Adelman retorted that "every plane coming into Europe could have chemical weapons on it. And so a chemical weapons-free zone doesn't make to me any practical sense." Claiming that "in 1975 the Soviets started giving the Vietnamese chemical weapons and we had the 'yellow rain' reports," Adelman went into a lurid description of the excruciating death allegedly suffered by victims of the Communist poison gas. The point he was making was that only deterrence works. Chemical weapons have been used only against an adversary without a C-weapons capability. The U.S. capability is wearing out. What is needed is modernization, the new binary weapons and an effective deterrent.

One may ask why the current conservative German government is going along with the U.S. argument despite the danger to German populations. For one thing, such governments always go along with Washington. For another, they can expect that binary weapons will be less dangerous if and when they replace the old C-weapons stored at Fischbach. Finally, the more subtle reason is that the German right is using its concessions to the U.S. to strengthen its own political position and build up West Germany as a strong military power.

Lehlbach notes that "a poison gas gap has been found or invented in Europe." Unverifiable reports of vast stocks of Soviet C-weapons circulate freely through Western media. Lehlbach wants to get C-weapons cleared out now, before the binaries come along to make verification problems still more difficult, if not impossible.

The DGB in September 1982 initiated an appeal to the Constitutional Court arguing that the Bonn government violated its international commitments (to the Geneva Protocol, etc.) by allowing the U.S. to store chemical weapons on its territory. A ruling is expected in early 1986.

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By Barbara Tannenbaum

SAN FRANCISCO

WHEN IMAGINING THE POSSIBILITIES of the modern telephone network, Donald Guinn, president and chairman of Pacific Telesis Corporation, would like you to think of a fast-moving freeway interchange.

Pacific Telesis used this image in its 1984 annual report. Neon red phone cables are superimposed on a photograph of a busy eight-lane highway. The caption explains that fiber optic truck lines are like information freeways, moving millions of voice and data signals simultaneously. It's an accurate metaphor for the possibilities of high-tech phone service. But it also contains a warning to consumers that Guinn perhaps doesn't realize: using your home telephone in the '80s may become as expensive as buying gasoline for your car during the '70s.

Consumer groups, regulators and policy analysts are concerned about skyrocketing local telephone rates. In a national study released by the Consumer Federation of America on December 10, the group found consumers are spending 35 percent more this year, or an average of \$4 more every month, just for a dial tone.

Collecting different data, but drawing the same conclusion, Walter Bolter, an economist with the Bethesda Research Institute, found that the flat rate for monthly service has doubled in many states and even tripled in some following the 1984 break-up of the Bell Telephone System into one long-distance carrier (AT&T) and seven Regional Bell Operating Companies. Bolter listed states with large rural populations as incurring the steepest rate hikes, including Nebraska with a 240 percent jump in rates last year, Texas with a 198 percent rate hike, Tennessee with 124 percent rate increase and California with a 107 percent rate hike last year.

The Communications Workers of America, the phone company union, combed Bureau of Labor Statistics between January 1984 and May 1985 to find that the cost of local service has risen 18 percent on the Consumer Price Index, more than any other item measured.

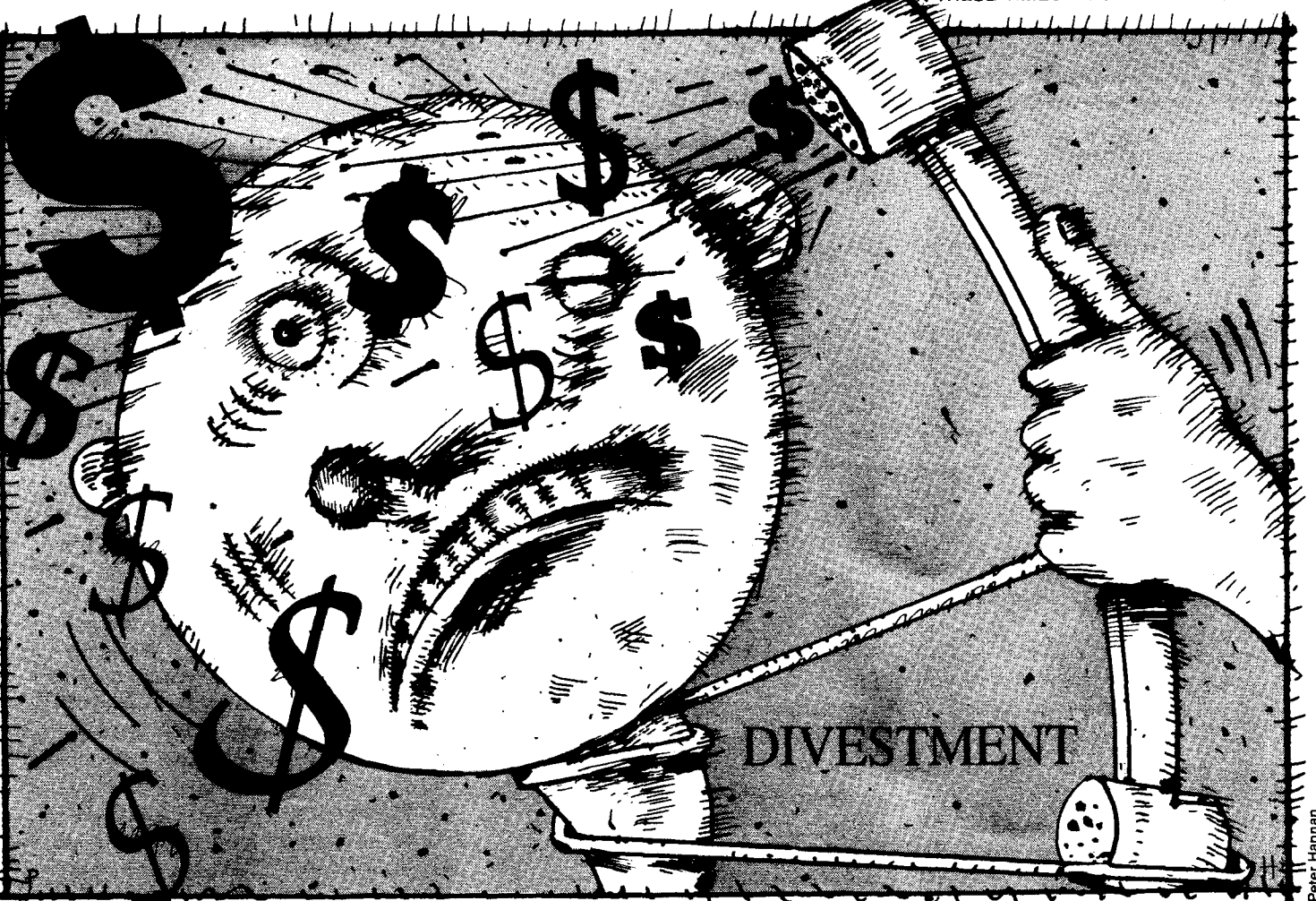
Who's to blame?

Several factors have fed the escalation of residential telephone rates in the two years since divestment. Residential phone customers are paying new Federal Communication Commission (FCC) and state-imposed surcharges as well as picking up the tab for reformulated depreciation schedules on telephone company equipment investments. And a phenomenon called "by-pass," which pits the residential customer against the high-volume business customer, is likely to raise household telephone rates even further in the next two to five years, barring new regulations.

Think tanks, such as the Rand Corporation, predicted in 1982 that the operating companies—Pacific Telesis, U.S. West, Ameritech, Southwestern Bell, Bell South, NyNex and Bell Atlantic—would raise rates for local calls to compensate for lost revenues from discontinued long-distance service. But Gene Kimmelman, legislative director of the Consumers Federation of America, disagrees, blaming current rate increases on industry strategy and regulatory mismanagement.

"Their strategy is to reduce prices in their most competitive markets and shift those costs to the monopoly market segment—residential phone service," he said. The Operating Companies are diversified holding companies that provide telephone service in both monopoly and competitive markets. Although sophisticated telecommunications equipment and additions to basic phone service tends to be sold to large businesses or well-heeled customers, the services are still connected to the universal telephone network used by local telephone callers.

Citing as an example the \$1 long-distance access charge paid each month by residential customers, Kimmelman pointed out the fee was previously paid by long-dis-



Bell rates hiked by passing the buck

tance carriers like AT&T, Sprint and MCI. But last year, the FCC decided to shift the cost of linking the local exchange network to long-distance carriers—to the ratepayer. Currently, residents pay \$1 a month and businesses pay \$6 per month in addition to state-imposed fees for the same service. The FCC decree is in effect until June 1986, when the fees are expected to double, according to Kimmelman.

"With consumers paying the access charges, long-distance companies can afford to lower their rates," he said. "Hidden charges, like higher costs for phone installation and fees for directory assistance, make the bill higher, too. For many people, especially senior citizens and people living below the poverty line, television sets are more affordable than telephone service."

According to Bethesda's Bolter, the FCC's rule change on telephone company depreciation schedules has had the greatest impact on local rates. In a 1981 rate case, AT&T appealed several states' depreciation schedules to the FCC. Complaining that technological advancements would render newly installed state-of-the-art equipment obsolete within a decade, AT&T sought to write off a substantial part of its billion-dollar investment in network modernization. The FCC ruled in AT&T's favor, and directed state public utility commissions to change their rate-making methodologies. The FCC's 22-year depreciation schedule has been shifted to a schedule of five to 12 years. "The FCC was, in effect, determining local rates," said Bolter, "because greater losses mean higher rates."

Consumers are spending 35 percent more this year, or an average of \$4 more every month, just for a dial tone.

In response, 36 state commissions filed suit against the FCC. Lead petitions filed by the California, Louisiana, Florida and Ohio public utilities question the FCC's right to pre-empt state rate-making decisions. The case is scheduled to be heard before the Supreme Court on January 13.

By-pass

The need for new pricing regulation is prompted by what the Operating Companies call "the by-pass threat." Phone companies fear network subscribers will drop out of the system and communicate over new technologies, such as cellular radio, two-way cable television, direct satellite to rooftop antennas, PBX systems or microwave towers. According to Arthur Latno, Pacific Telesis vice president, a customer would be so tempted because "our prices are too high. Customers will willingly sacrifice transmission quality for cost savings."

Large companies, such as Bank of America, Arco and Mobil Oil firms and the nine-campus University of California system have opted for a private telephone network. The problem is that the option of installing a private microwave tower is available only to large institutions or business firms. Yet large customers leaving the network will also drive up rates for those who continue to use it.

"Actually, regulators have been a little suspicious of the by-pass argument that asks the utility commission to lower telephone rates to these large customers in order to keep them on the network," said Bolter. "By-pass decreases competitive rates, increases monopoly rates, but gives the phone company the same amount of revenue to invest in telephone services." The key, Kimmelman said, "is to prevent marginal cost pricing of competitive services and make everyone pay for the benefits they derive from the universal network."

A recent study on by-pass released this month by the California Public Utilities Commission concluded that by-pass is a problem to the extent that other technologies exist to duplicate the phone network. Carrier by-pass, whereby a long-distance carrier directly connects two or more office buildings where all the telephones feed into one central PBX switching system, is anticipated within two years. The investment of local businesses in private communication facilities is considered possible, but less likely in the near future.

Cable-television operators are prohibited from offering two-way interactive transmission to residential customers by the Cable Franchise and Policy Act passed by Congress last year. But should by-pass occur by a privately supplied service between two distant cities, the California Public Utilities Commission calculates that Pacific Telephone could lose \$500 million. Examining another market segment, the report determined that \$3.2 billion could be syphoned off Pacific Bell's revenues by a long-distance competitor providing direct phone links between high-volume customers.

Utilities Commission staff attorney Denise Mann said the commission's findings "will probably lead to a more market-oriented approach to rate-making." But Bob Jacobsen, telecommunications analyst for California Assemblywoman Gwen Moore (D-L.A.) opposes a market-oriented approach. "If regulators cede services to the competitive sector, they've surrendered their jurisdiction. Competition is no panacea for bad regulations, and unregulated competition is the worst of all possible worlds for future telephone service."

Assemblywoman Moore plans to reintroduce several pieces of legislation to refine the Utilities Commission's ratemaking when the State Assembly reconvenes in January. One bill would create several new classes of telephone ratepayers, including categories for large businesses, small businesses, non-profit emergency services, high- and low-volume residential customers. Another bill outlaws interlata (city-to-city) by pass, and yet another places a moratorium on state surcharges imposed on customers for long-distance service until more research is done on the threat of by-pass.

Congressional hearings on by-pass and rate increases originally scheduled for November before the House subcommittee on telecommunications, consumer protection and finance, chaired by Rep. Timothy Wirth (D-CO) have been delayed until late January.

Communications Workers of America's Washington, D.C., staff is currently drafting a position on by-pass. According to spokeswoman Leslie Loebe, the union will propose a fee for users who have dropped out of the network, rather than have the remaining customers absorb the costs.

"Even if you leave the network, society needs it," Loebe said. "It's a utility, like paved roads or streetlights. Only regulations can maintain an integrated telephone system. We think it would be unfortunate and harmful to the country if the Regional Bell Operating Companies move away from quality, universal telephone service."

Barbara Tannenbaum is a reporter for the *Daily Commercial News*, published in San Francisco.

GUATEMALA

Vinicio Cerezo tiptoes toward the center

By Chris Norton

GUATEMALA CITY

VINICIO CEREZO'S BIG PRESIDENTIAL election win earlier this month raised the hopes of many Guatemalans eager for an end to 30 years of military-dominated government. But many political observers doubt that Cerezo will be able to achieve control over the army and security forces that have made Guatemala one of the worst human rights violators in the Western Hemisphere.

Instead, they see Cerezo as providing the clout the army and the ultra-right private sector need to end Guatemala's international isolation and to attract the foreign aid necessary to pull the country out of one of its worst economic crises.

Some grant that Cerezo is a decent man—a long-time critic of the military and a committed Democrat who remained in Guatemala during the height of the Lucas Garcia

regime's killings and survived four assassination attempts. Others, however, skeptically note that Cerezo survived surrounded by heavily armed bodyguards, while Christian Democratic militants in small towns and villages were being massacred.

Skeptics also note how the Christian Democratic Party has abandoned key aspects of its 1974 campaign program to accommodate itself to Guatemala's ultra-right political environment—most notably its former advocacy for agrarian reform. The most committed members of the Christian Democrats long ago joined the left opposition, according to these critics.

The party, like its counterpart in El Salvador, has always been a classic populist party whose rhetoric appeals to the poor, but whose policies reflect middle-class interests. Cerezo, who comes out of the party's more liberal social Christian wing, is a more attractive figure than Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte. Cerezo's honest acknowledgement of his limitations and

difficulties contrasts with Duarte's propaganda-like statements that make him sound like nothing more than a mouthpiece for the military and the U.S. embassy. The 43-year-old lawyer, who has a karate blackbelt, exudes a Kennedy-like sex appeal that contrasts with Duarte, who increasingly appears to be a tired political hack.

So far, Cerezo's hands are relatively clean. He has never signed a pact with the military (as the Salvadoran Christian Democratic Party did in 1980). That may change now that he is president, however. And despite his popular promises to help the country's poor majority, he has already ruled out the major structural reforms that would be necessary to achieve that.

Tred lightly

Cerezo concedes that he will have to be cautious and provoke no major showdowns with either the army or the private sector. Cerezo told *In These Times*, "With the military we should try to force them to respect the law, but if we imprison an officer when we enter, we will be creating the most serious possible confrontation before consolidating the government."

Yet Cerezo says he doesn't want to repeat the experience of the last civilian president, Julio Mendez Montenegro, who was elected in 1966 but was forced by the military to sign away most of his power. "That experience shows that to lose real power implies losing the democratic process,"

Cerezo said. "The task of civil government is not to maintain at all costs constitutional regimes that don't operate in the interests of the people."

Promises, promises

Cerezo has promised at various times to either eliminate or put civilians in charge of the inter-institutional coordinator, the military-run committees that direct the government counter-insurgency "development" work in the conflictive zones. But critics point out that civilian figureheads could lead the committees while military officers retain control.

Cerezo has also promised to let each community decide whether it will continue with the unpopular civil defense patrols. Although observers expect the obligatory controls to be lifted in some areas, analysts don't believe the army will allow destruction of what is a key element of their counterinsurgency strategy in the more sensitive zones in the western highlands and in the country's northern region.

The army justifies its control with an ideology of national security counterposed against the threat of international Communism. "The army may be going back to the barracks," writes George Black in the most recent issue of *NACLA*. "But as its definition the barracks covers most of Guatemala."

Cerezo isn't likely to provoke confrontation with the private sector either. One of his urgent tasks is to raise government revenues and reform the tax structure, which taxes the rich at one of the lowest rates in Latin America. "Taxing the rich would hurt them as much as cutting out a piece of their hand," said Cerezo. "But it [taxation] is not the same as taking away their farms, which would create polarization and promote a showdown."

The tax reforms Cerezo promises are precisely what the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been demanding since it cut off its emergency stand-by loans to Guatemala in 1983. And the Christian Democrats' substitute for agrarian reforms—a tax on idle land—would also curtail inefficient expensive agriculture and move the semi-feudal remnants of Guatemalan agriculture to a more modern capitalist mode.

Cerezo has conceded that he will have to be cautious and provoke no showdowns with the army or the private sector.

Yet an academic analyst familiar with Guatemala's ultra-right business community believes that even these practical reforms will likely encounter resistance from landholders who see any form of state intervention as Communism.

Guatemala has maintained a surprisingly independent position in foreign affairs, declining to jump on the U.S. anti-Nicaraguan bandwagon. Although Cerezo said he will maintain that position, many analysts believe his commitment will fade under pressure to toe the U.S. line in exchange for much-needed foreign aid.

Despite the improbability of Cerezo instituting any major reforms, the left hopes that Cerezo's presidency will open up political space for liberal forces. Yet they are under no illusions, seeing that space as limited and liable to close rapidly if the extreme right or the military decide to take repressive action against the popular protests—which the economic crisis almost surely guarantees.

In These Times' correspondent Chris Norton is based in El Salvador.

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If you missed the news about the chair of Reagan's re-election campaign's ties to organized crime, you're not alone.

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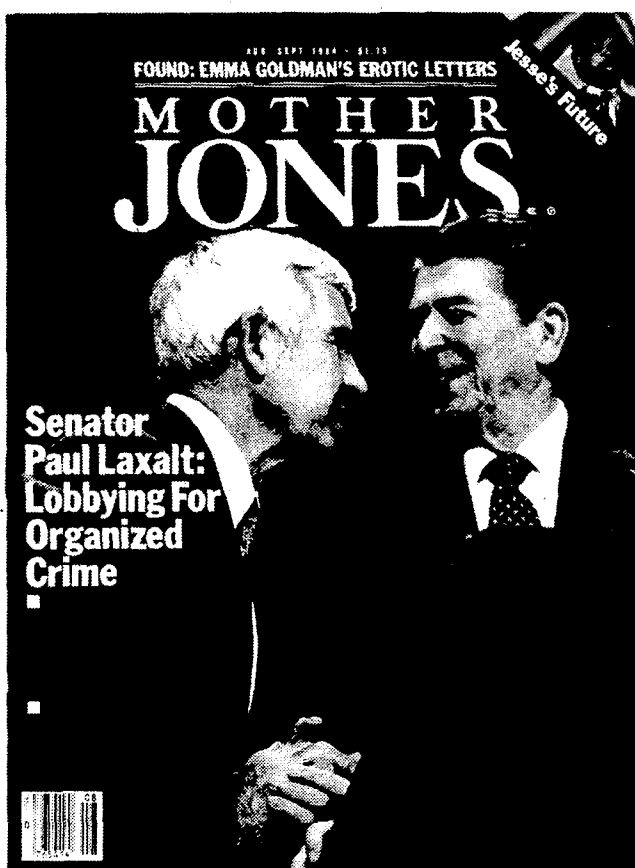
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Nicole Ferenz

By Allen Hornblum

PHILADELPHIA

MARGARET McNALLY HEARD the meeting being called to order and prepared herself, along with two dozen of her friends and neighbors, for the Lord's prayer and the salute to the flag, which was the normal custom at the Southwest Frankford Optimist Youth and Community Center, located in this city's working-class section. But this time

the ritual was replaced with a special announcement. The community center, which also ran food and fuel assistance programs for the needy and tutoring and recreational programs for youngsters, was closing.

As the elderly group sat in stunned silence, they were informed that the center had lost its insurance policy and would be closing its doors. "In any situation like this, it's always the little people that get hurt," says Catherine Harmen, 64, obviously dejected.

"It was like a family," says Margaret McNally, 75. "We had gotten to know each other so well. It feels like losing a friend."

But the elderly aren't alone in their insurance woes. All across Philadelphia canceled coverage and skyrocketing rates have curtailed services and increased operating costs for public and private institutions. A women's health center recently had to cancel treatment for 20 expectant mothers due to insurance non-renewal. And Drexel University's annual insurance budget jumped from \$500,000 to \$1 million this year.

"It's almost like the insurance industry is going on strike," says Peter Pietrangelo, president of a youth hockey club that nearly lost its place to skate due to doubling insurance premiums.

Philadelphia's transit system is particularly afflicted. William Boone, director of risk management for the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority, has witnessed an increasingly unstable and hostile insurance environment. "The whole market has been deteriorating. There is a substantial lack of available capacity just this year compared to last year," he says.

SEPTA paid \$715,000 for \$99 million worth of excess coverage in 1982, but by 1985, according to Boone, the premium jumped to \$2.8 million for just \$25 million in coverage. Even at that exorbitant price, Boone says the company was lucky, because "many outfits were unable to get insurance and are going naked." The term refers to functioning without liability insurance coverage—an increasingly common and dangerous practice in today's volatile marketplace.

What has happened in Philadelphia to cause such rapidly escalating insurance premiums? Have geologists predicted a major earthquake in the Delaware Valley? Or has the city government's decision to bomb MOVE headquarters incited a panic in the insurance industry?

A panic does exist, but it is national in scope, and is not restricted to Philadelphia. Across the country, lawyers, doctors, architects, day-care centers, toxic-waste companies and municipalities have seen their insurance canceled or at best get far costlier.

Continued on page 22

ESPIONAGE

Ask not for whom the whistle blows

By Rex B. Wingerter

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHATEVER LONG-TERM DAMAGE, if any, the recent flurry of spy cases has done to U.S. national security, they have given the Reagan administration the opportunity to launch an attack on the First Amendment and to plug up embarrassing leaks by stripping government whistle-blowers of their First Amendment rights.

The Reagan White House has ordered a series of far-reaching security orders in the name of fighting foreign espionage. On November 1 President Reagan ordered mandatory polygraph tests for government employees with access to sensitive material. The tests will be given whenever superiors deem it necessary. Meanwhile, the Office of Personnel Management is establishing Security Hearings Boards that would have the power to remove civilian employees "in the interests of national security." The authority for establishing the boards was a letter issued by President Eisenhower in a 1953 executive order that was the basis for the Federal Loyalty-Security Program of the '50s.

But the most serious blow to the First Amendment was the recent conviction of Samuel Morison, a civilian intelligence analyst for the U.S. Navy, for passing a classified photograph of a Soviet aircraft carrier to a British military journal. He was the first person ever convicted under the 1917 Espionage Act for leaking classified

documents to the press.

This was only the second time that espionage laws were pressed against a government employee for disclosing government secrets to the media. The first was against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo for leaking the "Pentagon Papers." But that case was dismissed after it was revealed that the government had burglarized the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist. This is the first time all the legal issues have been decided and, according to Morton Haplen, director of the Washington Office of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), if the lower court's interpretation of the law is upheld, "the United States will have an Official Secrets Act."

Central to Morison's conviction was the federal court's ruling that his motivation for leaking the photograph was irrelevant. The government never even suggested that he gave any classified information to foreign agents or spies, or that Morison was a foreign agent, or that he sought to endanger U.S. security. Indeed, by all accounts, Morison is politically conservative and leaked the photographs in order to rally public support for more congressional appropriations to the U.S. Navy. Presumably Soviet intelligence knew about its own new warship so it can hardly be said that the release of the photograph injured U.S. national security.

But Federal Judge Joseph Young ruled otherwise, holding that prosecution was justified because "the danger to the U.S. is just as great when this information is released to the press as when it is released to

an agent of the foreign government." Furthermore, the Maryland court accepted the Justice Department's contention that Morison broke the law "no matter how laudable his motives," and even if he intended "to expose obvious wrongdoing in high official circles, he would be just as guilty."

The implications of this interpretation bode ill for the media and possibly catastrophic for government whistle-blowers. According to Mark Lynch of the ACLU and one of Morison's defense lawyers, it is now a crime to leak any government document relating to national security. It doesn't matter why the document was leaked, what it said or to whom it was given. Any reporter receiving such material may be vulnerable to prosecution or could be dragged before a grand jury and forced to reveal the person who released the classified information.

Neither government officials who do the leaking nor publications at the receiving end should consider themselves exempt from prosecution under the Espionage Act.

While the Reagan administration vigorously denies that the press could be charged with espionage, a Department of Justice official admitted to the *Washington Post*, "Neither the government officials who do the leaking, nor the publications at the receiving end...should consider themselves exempt" from prosecution under the Espionage Act.

But in a city where leaking documents is the customary way to promote a particular political view or grind a political axe, it is difficult to believe that Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger or White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan will face prosecution any time soon. Those most endangered by the Morison decision will be mid-level career officials, not upper-echelon political appointees. Lynch believes that prosecution will become a matter of "who you are and not what you've done."

Lewis Clark, executive director of the Government Accountability Project, seconds Lynch's prediction and expects that the press will now have a far more difficult time getting sources of information within the government. Unless the Morison case is overturned on appeal, the press will be limited to receiving self-serving classified materials from administration officials.

Lewis also believes that the Justice Department's prosecution of Morison arose largely from the administration's desire to stem the current barrage of embarrassing leaks that exposed enormous cost overruns in Pentagon procurement contracts. Invoking the Espionage Act against Morison, Clark said, was like "hitting a flea with a sledge-hammer." The maximum 40-year prison sentence and \$40,000 fine for violating the Espionage Act clearly may deter potential whistle-blowers from exposing government waste, fraud and other wrongdoings that the Reagan administration would rather hide from public view. "These times are as scary as they've ever been for whistle-blowers," admitted Clark.

Lawyer Rex B. Wingerter writes on legal affairs.

NEW YORK

AFTER MORE THAN HALF OF THE nation's college students voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984 and with most looking today to careers instead of ideals, it might seem that campus protest is a thing of the past. But beneath this preppie surface a committed political minority has taken root and is growing.

College student protests against South Africa's apartheid peaked last spring and continued into fall, historically a quiet time on campus. Conferences held recently in New York City and Chicago brought together hundreds of student leaders from across the U.S. and Canada to coordinate ongoing work. And all this activity is taking place despite the fact that apartheid itself is today under a media blackout and is less visible on the nightly TV news. While still facing growing pains, students are deepening their commitment to southern Africa's regional politics and broadening their activity to include other issues. "Student activism represents a great movement for peace that developed only in the past few years," says Keith Jennings of Atlanta University.

This heady optimism—shared by many students—is understandable. After 12 years of near silence, campus protest is now at the highest level of sustained activity since the bombings of Cambodia and North Vietnam in the early '70s. Since April more than 100,000 students have demonstrated at about 150 colleges, many getting involved in politics for the first time. Students have broken the law with civil-disobedience actions at more than 35 schools, resulting in 3,000 arrests. These more militant tactics have led to widespread university divestment, and anti-apartheid work is also helping to strengthen campaigns against CIA and ROTC recruiting and is renewing opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Since spring, contact between campuses has grown and there are signs of new life in regional networks and national student federations. The Black Students' Communication Organizing Network is developing links between black students across the country and is addressing several issues. The Progressive Student Network publishes the *Progressive Student News*, the only newspaper of its kind. The *News* reports student activities around the country, publishes debates on politics and strategies and discusses the movement's strengths and weaknesses. Since April 1984 the *News* mailing list has grown from 200 students to 1,500. But students avoid talk of creating any central organization such as Students for a Democratic Society—the leading radical student organization in the '60s—to run things. They emphasize grassroots autonomy and coalitions built on common goals, not common ideologies.

The most militant and visible beacons of protest are still the elite state and private colleges—University of California at Berkeley, Columbia, Cornell, University of Wisconsin at Madison and others—but protest politics are becoming popular again throughout the country. On October 11 more than a dozen schools in the South—which had missed spring's upsurge—made a showing, and all regions of the U.S. were well represented at the national student conference held in New York November 1-3.

Although its visibility is new, student anti-apartheid protest is not. Campus groups have regularly organized around South Africa since the 1976 Soweto student uprisings. Small-scale but ongoing student education work prior to last spring exposed university investments and corporate ties to apartheid. The "university connection" means students feel personally involved in South Africa's violent unrest at a time when other issues—such as U.S. intervention in Central America—have seemed distant and unimportant.

Stumbling blocks

While the fledgling student movement has had many successes to date (see accompanying story), it faces several obstacles. Many university trustees—at first caught off guard by student demands—are now on the offensive. Some have announced their agree-

ment with the anti-apartheid sentiment, but differ with students about the best anti-apartheid policy. Many universities reject full divestment demands and have adopted "selective divestment" practices based on the Sullivan Principles—a voluntary code to end on-the-job discrimination by U.S. corporations operating in South Africa. Anti-apartheid leaders dismiss the Principles as a mere diversion from the real issue of majority rule.

Because the selective divestment ploy has failed, administrators are now resorting to direct suppression of student activity. At the University of California at Berkeley, student protests have been videotaped by campus police so that leaders can be singled out for disciplinary and penal action. At the University of Miami campus police have required students to "register" their names before protests, and at several schools "time, place and manner" restrictions on

protests have been changed and enforced against students. Special disciplinary codes to deal with "disruption"—written in the late '60s and long since forgotten—are being resurrected.

But this administrative counterattack appears to be backfiring. Repression is only strengthening students' resolve and—as it did during the '60s—is raising the issue of democracy within the university. On September 5 a State Department official and representatives of the South African Embassy and Mobil Oil met with university lawyers over the issue of "divestment and campus disruption" and how to stop it. But when word of this meeting reached students, it only confirmed many suspicions about corporate manipulation of the universities. As long as other channels are blocked, direct action and other dramatic tactics to achieve demands will remain popular.

Many students originally joined anti-apartheid protest with little knowledge of South Africa. But as they are challenged by administrators and a U.S. president who prefer means other than divestment to fight apartheid, students are more closely examining South African politics. Their arguments now rely not only on the moral imperative to "not invest in racism" but also on ways to support the struggle for majority rule in South Africa. Many now understand divestment as one way to fight apartheid rather than as an end in itself.

Like their counterparts in Europe, the U.S. student anti-apartheid movement is choosing to cooperate with the movement in South Africa. "In recent months we have seen an increase in ANC [African National Congress] engagements at campuses," says ANC New York representative Victor Mashabela. "Generally students are focused only on apartheid, but we are now

The kids aren't



Protesters start a bonfire on steps of Berkeley's Sproul Hall.

By Bill Hall

right

seeing some linkage with Namibia and the struggles of the frontline states [bordering South Africa]. Students at many schools have begun material aid campaigns for the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, which is termed "the next step" beyond divestment.

Mashabela, along with others advocating majority rule in South Africa, believes that much necessary educational work remains to be done on campuses. Students have yet vocally to oppose recent U.S. moves toward aiding UNITA, for example. Because UNITA—the Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi—relies on supplies and frequent military intervention from South Africa to continue its war against Angola, aid to UNITA is widely considered aid for South Africa.

Are factions forming?

But more politically astute students are sometimes divided on the issue of "solidarity" with South African blacks because the

seen as a reaction to the ANC's high visibility on campus and its cooperation with students, and as an effort to support black consciousness. Although dominant leaders present were split in their votes, the proposal was defeated.

Older anti-apartheid activists fear history could eventually repeat itself if students become rigid in the ANC—PAC debate. During the latter part of the '60s the peace movement was bitterly divided as ideologies and debates on Vietnamese politics became more important than building a left movement in the U.S. One faction militantly aligned itself with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and condemned those who only opposed the war. The Black Power movement was also divided on ideological questions. People lost sight of the immediate common goals of peace and justice, and the task of education and building support for the left was forgotten.

But unlike the '60s, all sides of the PAC-ANC debate so far remain firmly united in

World student leadership and participation in this movement." Discussion of how to heal divisions and respond to black students' concerns dominated workshops and informal discussion at the New York conference, and continues to be the leading topic at student meetings across the country.

As black and Third World students assert their leadership, the direction of the student movement as a whole is changing. But instead of being paralyzed by the internal struggles that characterized much of the anti-war movement in the '60s, students are now uniting around concrete goals. They are addressing the decline of black and Third World enrollment in higher education, the shortage of black and Third World faculty and the dismantling of affirmative action and ethnic studies programs. In short, students are looking to restore the gains that were won in the '60s but have eroded during the Reagan administration.

Students are carrying these efforts to combat racism beyond their campus limits.

Selling out in South Africa

Student victories in the divestment movement have been widespread. Sixty-seven schools have divested and nearly \$350 million of South Africa-linked stock has been sold, according to the American Committee on Africa (ACO).

Since last spring's protests, 32 colleges have divested either totally or partially. The trend has been toward pushing for full divestment, and students reject "selective divestment" policies based on whether or not the Sullivan Principles—a voluntary code of conduct to desegregate the U.S. workplace in South Africa—are followed. Students have also helped prompt \$5 billion in apartheid stock sales by public institutions such as state and city pension funds.

The call for university and public fund divestment is viewed as symbolic—an act of moral non-cooperation with apartheid. But divestment is actually a key concrete tool in forcing an end to minority rule.

"Divestment has helped discourage new investment in South Africa and led 17 corporations to begin to leave the country since January 1. It also makes it harder for the U.S. to intervene on South Africa's behalf," says Joshua Nessen, student coordinator for ACO. Nessen believes that one positive result of internal and external pressure on the apartheid economy—which recently experienced a currency decline to an all-time low and an emergency halt on debt repayments—is that South African businessmen met with the ANC for the first time.

The direct impact of specific divestment actions is hard to determine. Much of the capital flight from South Africa and the country's current economic woes can be traced to the violent unrest in South Africa itself—the effects of the 1976 Soweto uprisings on a much larger scale. But divestment has proven an important rallying point around which a movement has been built, and is threatening the public image of such corporate giants as IBM, Ford and Coca-Cola. It puts decisions usually left to "free enterprise" under public scrutiny and is also making it difficult for Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank and Bank of America to repeat 1976 and bail out apartheid with fresh loans.

Victor Mashabela of the African National Congress says, "Divestment helps deprive the South African regime of access to materials it needs to maintain the apartheid system. You have to keep in mind that U.S. corporations occupy strategic sectors of the South African economy—energy, technology, computers. Divestment helps insure that the inevitable popular victory in my country will come sooner and with less loss of life."

Corporations and college administrators seem unconvinced, however. They claim investments are working against apartheid by coaxing the white minority into reforms. Ironically, while they previously remained silent about the daily violence of life under apartheid, today they argue that divestment and sanctions will "hurt blacks."

This logic is popular only with corporate and bank executives, the Reagan administration and South Africa's ruling National Party. An August 25 Gallup-affiliate poll found 77 percent of urban blacks favoring divestment and sanctions. Pro-divestment organizations include: COSATU, the newly formed and largest trade union federation in South Africa, the World Council of Churches in its recent "Harare Declaration," the ANC, the United Nations—with the exception of the U.S. and Britain—and the Organization of African Unity.

Seen in light of widespread demands for majority rule and the growing willingness to fight and be killed to attain it, corporate gestures to "reform" apartheid are widely considered meaningless public relations moves.

—B.H.



Campus protest is on the rise again

movement in South Africa is itself divided.

The vast majority of South Africans support the ANC with its "non-racial" ideology accepting white participation and some leadership in the anti-apartheid struggle. But this position is scorned by a tiny movement in South Africa inheriting the tradition of black consciousness, an ideology of racial independence that addresses the psychology of oppression and rejects white participation. Both tendencies are recognized by the United Nations, which has granted observer status to the ANC and to the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the main exiled black consciousness group.

Many American students are strong ANC supporters. Others, such as Amanda Kemp of Stanford's Black Student Union, claim that PAC and other groups also represent South African blacks. Kemp advocates "support for all the liberation groups and letting South Africans decide." A few students associated with left sectarian groups even criticize the ANC for "not arming the black masses," at best a suicidal proposition against South Africa's enormous military machine. While most students are not interested in the debate, these different points of view occasionally clash.

At the conclusion of November's Midwest Regional Conference on Apartheid and Racism in Chicago, all of the conference resolutions—resulting from discussion among several hundred students in two days of workshops and panel discussions—were passed almost unanimously, with one exception: a debate erupted over a proposal by students from the University of Minnesota's Progressive Student Organization to "oppose all attempts to one-sidedly promote any liberation organization to the exclusion of all others." The resolution was

the movement's main goal—to sever all U.S.-South Africa ties.

Racism at home

Controversy around "racism in the movement" has been both divisive and instructive for students. Black participation in the anti-apartheid movement is strong—about 20 percent of students at the New York national conference, for example, were black. But working together is new for both black and white students, and the movement tends to be divided into recently formed, predominantly white divestment groups and smaller, older black student groups also working on issues other than apartheid.

"Black and Third World students have felt that their role in this movement has not been accorded adequate respect by their white counterparts," says Sahotra Sarkar of the multi-campus Third World Political Forum in Illinois. For example, at the University of Chicago this fall, black students organized a boycott of a white student group's anti-apartheid rally.

Sarkar summed up most students' opinions by saying, "Anti-apartheid is, after all, an anti-racist movement. We insist on Third

Growing pains and all, students' commitment to southern Africa's regional politics are deepening.

Chicano groups in northern California, especially *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán*, have organized successful efforts to aid striking cannery workers in nearby Watsonville (see *In These Times*, Dec. 18). During the summer Columbia students worked with the Morningside Heights Tenants' Association against evictions from Columbia-owned housing. And community coalitions uniting students with church, labor and other groups—such as the New Jersey Anti-Apartheid Mobilization Coalition that turned out 20,000 on November 9—are becoming widespread.

These efforts toward a deeper and broader student movement, however, run some risks. "The essence of this movement is in its unity around divestment and condemning apartheid," says Joe Iosbaker, a leader of the Progressive Student Network. "It's important not to lose that mass base."

Next spring may prove decisive. Groups have already begun planning for an ambitious, multi-issue "National Weeks of Action" March 21-April 4, commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa, the murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador and the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Although the rhetoric of "solidarity" and "anti-racism" has taken root among the movement's leaders, the tendency to target pragmatic goals—divestment, ethnic studies, CIA recruitment bans, affirmative action—remains strong. So far internal debates on South African politics and on racism in the U.S. have been constructive rather than divisive. As long as apartheid is held in widespread contempt, it's likely that the movement's educational work and diverse support will continue to attract students—even many who voted for Reagan.

LETTERS

Hopelessly romantic

ERIC LEE'S PERSPECTIVE (ITT NOV. 13) ON the historical and potential role of the Histadrut in countering the anti-Arab racism in Israel is misplaced romanticism. While one would expect a national trade union movement to be at the forefront of anti-racism, the sad history in Israel is that the Histadrut has not only played a key role since the '20s in discriminating against Arab workers, but its structure and practice today gives little hope that it will seriously fight for equal rights for Palestinian Arabs.

The Histadrut was founded in 1920 as the "General Federation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel." (The racial designation in its name—symbolic of its founding ideology—was not removed until 1966). While conceived by its founders less as a trade union and more as a colonial nation-building project, its trade union work was a critical pillar of support for the fledgling Zionist undertaking in Palestine.

In its early years, the Histadrut launched health care programs, insurance plans and construction and industrial projects, covering or employing only Jewish workers and their families. Throughout the '30s, the Histadrut fought a largely successful—and bloody—campaign against the employment of Arab labor by Jewish factories and farms. When the nascent Palestinian nationalist movement launched a general strike in 1936 demanding national rights, the Histadrut undermined the strike by supplying replacement workers and blockading Arab assistance from Syria, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan.

Before the 1948 war, the Histadrut was the principle impetus for the creation of the Haganah, the leading Zionist armed force during the conflict and the forerunner of the Israeli army. After the 1948 war, the Histadrut not only continued to refuse to admit Arab workers remaining in Israel into its membership, but also used its monopoly over labor exchanges to block the opening of employment offices in Arab areas.

Today the Histadrut is a prisoner of its historical legacy. Although Israeli Arab workers have been full trade union members since 1965, and now make up almost 10 percent of its members, there were still no Arabs among the more than 600 managers and director-generals of Histadrut-owned Heurut Odum industries in 1979 (the last account I have seen). Nor had the Histadrut located any of their Heurut Odum industries in an Israeli Arab village. According to the head of the Histadrut's "Arab Department" (reorganized in 1980 as an "integration" department), the Histadrut's leadership had consistently rejected the industrialization of the Arab sector as a policy goal.

On the West Bank, the Histadrut through its numerous construction and industrial holding companies is heavily involved in the building of illegal Jewish settlement projects. It has been very slow

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to comment on the terrible employment conditions suffered by Palestinian workers from the Occupied Territories working in Israeli farms and industries, many owned by the Histadrut itself.

On the Middle East question, the Histadrut supports a "territorial compromise" on the West Bank which would amount to the creation of Palestinian banustans.

Internationally, the Histadrut is a major partner through its industrial holding company—Koor Industries Ltd.—in the lucrative Israeli arms trade. Although the identity of the foreign buyers of the Histadrut enterprises' military equipment is secret, one reported prime destination is Guatemala. What is not so secret are the extensive Koor investments in South Africa, particularly in steel and electronic equipment. While the Histadrut has an official union policy condemning apartheid, its holding companies have been increasing their investment and corporate ventures in South Africa in recent years.

The Middle East needs more people who can dream that Jewish and Palestinian workers will some day fight together in Israel for each others' trade union and political rights. That would certainly provide the best hope for a progressive change in the Middle East. But such a lofty dream cannot be built on the hope that an institution like the Histadrut will lead the struggle against something that it has so long perpetuated.

Michael Lynk
Ottawa

Well-established fact

IN THE STUDY OF REAGAN'S IRRATIONAL policies (ITT, Nov. 13), Ronald Aronson and Steve Golin fail adequately to take into account the two most important developments of the 20th century. One: with the 1917 Russian Revolution, a continuous struggle between the two social systems—in different forms and at different levels—has prevailed. This struggle is influencing the lives of most of the people of the world. Two: the present level of this conflict, threatening to destroy the planet, has reached a danger point because it takes place in the nuclear age.

Reagan's irrational politics, mandated in 1984, can be understood better if we recognize that the entire capitalist system, in its effort to destroy the existing socialist camp, has become irrational.

Aronson and Golin do indicate that the

root disease of our society, making possible the irrational behavior, is anti-Communism. "It's the cement without which Reaganism would not hold together." They also affirm that at times the left has itself become caught up in this anti-Communist hysteria: "Too often the manner of our own criticism of the Soviet Union cuts the ground from under our rejection of policies that oppress us." One would, therefore, think that these two authors understood their own admonitions. But not so.

After emphasizing that "Reagan hates the Soviet Union, not because of that society's obvious negative characteristics,... but above all insofar as it is anti-capitalist," they tell us that we have reached a point "where the only policy that can provide an answer to the right is one of the left." But they themselves become trapped by the anti-Communist quagmire when they warn us: "We must remember that the common enemy of the American and Soviet people are the American and Soviet ruling classes," that "the current rulers of the U.S. cannot and will not make a real peace, only the American people can do that."

That's fine, except that this logic must also be applied to Soviet society. If its enemy, and ours, are the ruling classes of both of these two social systems, the rulers of Soviet society cannot and will not make a real peace. Then who will? If in the U.S. only the American people can do that, then only the Soviet people should be called upon to do that likewise.

If this is so, efforts by the leaders of the Soviets to halt the nuclear armament programs by freezing production and deployment are ineffective and useless. The authors evidently accept Reagan's concept that the Soviet's moratorium on nuclear testing, and their suggestion that the U.S. do the same, is meaningless because it's proposed by the leaders of the Soviet society who are "the common enemy of the American and Soviet people." This distortion of the actual situation helps Reagan attract large sections of the people in support of his irrational politics, as it is a well established fact that the Soviet people are in no mood to remove their leaders.

E.S. Berto
Venice, Calif.

Ron Aronson and Steve Golin reply: Anti-Communism is the cement of Reaganism, but not its dynamic force. Denial—of Soviet military parity, but also of Japanese economic parity, as well as environmental impediments to growth, of black and women's advances and the need for fundamental social change—is what drives Reagan.

Berto's logic inverts the Reaganite illusion, changing only the Devil. Yet the real threat to the world comes from the need for Devils, developed into an irrational symbiosis of both systems in mutual opposition. Just as American capitalism has been stabilized for 40 years by the "Communist threat," so has "imperialism" justified all shortages, oppressions and interventions within the Warsaw Pact.

The nuclear postures that once justified "defense" on each side, have taken on a life of their own, threatening the world and deadening energy for social change.

Each system needs the other as enemy, in a crazy process almost out of control. How can we break through it? By refusing all Devil theories, developing an alternative to reaganism—and supporting Moscow's current freeze, despite its intervention in Afghanistan and suppression of human rights.

Anglo-Irish accord

DILIP HIRO'S ANALYSIS OF THE ANGLO-Irish Accord (ITT, Nov. 27) is the best I've seen published on this side of the Atlantic, but some of his assertions should be corrected.

Hiro says the "immediate objective is to show Nationalists that the accord has made a difference without unduly upsetting Unionists." But, as conservative nationalist commentator Desmond Fennell argues (*Irish Times*, Nov. 25), parliamentary (as opposed to extra-legal) unionists could not be more outraged unless Thatcher had invited Dublin troops and police into the north. Fennell, convincingly, finds the "fatal flaw" in the accord "did not include measures to reduce straightaway the nationalist alienation... [I]t is proposed...that in coming weeks and months, one concession after another will be made to the nationalists, each...heaping coals of fire, provocatively on Unionist anger.... [But already] one notices that the main concern in Dublin is to mollify the Unionists and...reduce their alienation."

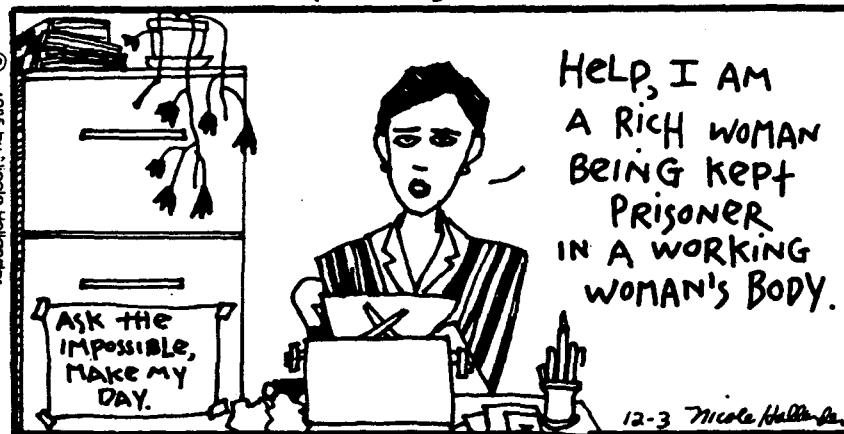
Thus, Fennell fears, Dublin will lose its will to push through concrete pro-Catholic reforms, result: maximum alienation of parliamentary unionists combined with the likelihood of only minimal reforms to satisfy non-violent nationalists. So what has been accomplished?

The liberal, mixed-membership Ulster Alliance Party is divided in support of the accord. And the "Euro-Communist Workers' Party" voted for it but worried that the Unionists were being excluded. This party hopes that an internal accord might result.

Dublin Senator Mary Robinson, notable pluralist and women's rights advocate, has resigned from the Irish Labor Party to protest the anti-democratic means of the agreement. One-time Irish Labor cabinet member Conor Cruise O'Brien, pluralist, nationalist critic and advocate of severe anti-IRA repression, sees the accord as a step backward (good goals, bad means). Ex-MP Jimmy Kemmy, a left splitter from Irish Labor, now president of the Democratic Socialist Party, has criticized the accord along similar lines.

Robert St. Cyr
Greenlawn, N.Y.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

PERSPECTIVE

Stalemate at Synod results in creative suspension

By Robert McClory

IF THE SYNOD OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS that concluded in Rome December 8 had been a football game, it would have ended up a tie—and not a very exciting one at that. Under the watchful eye of the chief referee, Pope John Paul II, neither the conservative nor progressive faction of bishops appeared very eager to press their offensive, preferring to punt when the going got tough. No basic disputes were settled, and the direction of the institutional church remains essentially where it was before: in the hands of the chief referee.

That is not surprising in itself, since the deliberations of the 165 assembled bishops were advisory at best; the Holy Father can implement them totally, partially or ignore them completely. Yet John Paul would have been loathe to dismiss out of hand strong and consistent recommendations from these church leaders if any had been forthcoming.

As it turned out, the synod's conclusions could be interpreted in a variety of ways. There was sufficient evidence for almost any segment within the church to claim at least a moral victory.

Those bishops in attendance (presidents of national bishops' conferences, heads of Vatican congregations and others personally invited by the pope) were summoned to Rome to mark the 20th anniversary of the completion of the Second Vatican Council and to reflect on the 20 years that have produced both unprecedented openness and unanticipated turmoil for the universal church. As the time of the synod approached, strong rumblings emanated from Rome, particularly from West German Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, head of the powerful Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Ratzinger declared openly that the post-Vatican II period had been "decidedly unfavorable" for the Catholic Church and had produced "a dissension that seems to have passed over from self-criticism to self-destruction." In particular, he attacked national bishops' conferences (such as the one in the U.S. that issued the pastoral letter on peace and war and is currently preparing one on the American economy). These conferences, he said, have "no theological basis" and only undermine the authority of the pope.

In defense of restoration

Joined by scores of other tradition-oriented leaders, Ratzinger called for a "restoration"—a return to the more centralized, authoritarian, other worldly and triumphant stance that had characterized the church from the time of the Protestant Reformation until Vatican II. Such views could not be taken lightly because, on matters of church doctrine and discipline, they appear remarkably akin to those of John Paul himself.

The Ratzinger contingent had reason to rejoice at some conclusions in the 6,000-word final report drafted by the synod's participants.

The report said "further study" is necessary on the authority and nature of national bishops' conferences lest they become a parallel teaching power independent of the pope.

The synod recommended a "universal catechism" of the faith to serve as "point of reference" for all future theological discussions.

The bishops said Catholicism must avoid "false sociological and political" in-



terpretations of the gospel—a lightly veiled crack at liberation theology.

The report also called for a reconsideration of the concept of subsidiarity (the practice of solving problems at the lowest possible level of authority)—a fairly clear move to push decision making in the direction of the highest level of authority, namely the Vatican.

The bishops also managed to ignore or

carefully skirt some of the more volatile issues in the church today, such as contraception and female equality. Church leaders were urged to do their utmost to help women "express their own gifts and play a greater part in the various fields of ministry," but there was no elaboration on what this meant.

The conservative forces could also find solace in many of the special reports is-

The bishops manage to ignore or carefully skirt some volatile issues in the church today, such as contraception and female equality. Church leaders were urged to help women "express their own gifts and play a greater part in the various fields of ministry," but there was no elaboration on what this meant.

sued by various language groups of bishops at the synod. The Spanish-speaking contingent (under the leadership of some of the most reactionary bishops in Latin America) blanketly condemned liberation theology and called on church authorities to "prevent poison from being taught in seminaries," just as "the state prevents shopkeepers from selling poison." In fact, the German, Italian and Spanish reports, all condemning "secularization" and calling for a return of strong centrist control, could have been written by Ratzinger himself.

On the other hand, celebrators of Vatican II and progressives in the church had some notable victories to cite.

Instead of adopting an overall flight from the Council, the synod bishops praised in a general way the achievements of the past 20 years and said, "We are determined to progress further along the path indicated by the council." John Paul picked up on this theme in his closing talk. The church, he said, does not wish to isolate itself from the world. "On the contrary, she wishes to open herself more amply. We must make this desire more and more our own, since it is our duty."

The final report of the synod described national bishops' conferences as useful and necessary and as equal in church service to the Curia, the church's central administration at the Vatican. In so doing, they seemed to reject one of Ratzinger's main thrusts.

The bishops strongly recommended that the Secretariat for Christian Unity, which promotes ecumenism, not be downgraded (as some conservatives urged) to a dependent office in the Vatican. They thus reaffirmed one of Vatican II's priorities: the move toward dialog and reunion with other Christian denominations.

Refreshing breeze

Sources at the synod claimed that the North American bishops, under the leadership of Youngstown, Ohio, Bishop James Malone, head of the U.S. bishops' conference, provided a strong "refreshing breeze" that prevented the centrist forces from carrying the day. Joined at times by bishops from Britain, Malone and company consistently cited "the gains" of the past 20 years in terms of improved liturgy, increased social awareness and greater involvement of lay people in the church. The pessimistic tone from Europe, they said, was not only undeserved, but contrary to the spirit of the council.

The discussions at the synod may have also provided the pope and all in attendance with an eye-opening glimpse of some of the larger problems facing Catholicism down the road, problems in far away places that may make the contraception debate eventually seem relatively minor. For example, one disgruntled bishop from Africa declared frankly that monogamy is impossible in African culture. Another pointed to a fellow black bishop and said, "His father was a tribal chief and so entitled to 40 wives. But he, the son, has nobody!" At this the pope threw up his hands in exasperation, one of the few moments when he showed any emotion during the deliberations.

His talk at the end seemed to endorse the stalemate. John Paul condemned "false interpretations" without going into detail, then abundantly praised the council and what it has achieved.

Clearly, the 1985 synod did not set the church's agenda for the 21st century. For progressives, fearful of a Ratzinger-inspired "restoration," that was a victory in itself. The tie provided hope that Catholicism can endure in a state of creative suspension and that no "final solution" will be imposed from the top.

Robert McClory writes regularly on religious matters.

PERSPECTIVES

For divided families, the pain never ends

By Alexander Amerisov

I HOPE IT WAS A GOOD YEAR FOR you and for those you care about. I also hope that 1986 will be a year of peace, and that progressive forces the world over will move toward a more free and just society. I hope that 1986 will be the year when Reaganites will be dealt an irreparable setback in congressional elections. And I hope the *contras* in Nicaragua will be wiped out, the brutal white-supremacist regime of South Africa exterminated, that Palestinians will get a home of their own. I also hope that 1986 will be a year of renewed vitality for the socialist movement, a year when the ideological problems we face will be confronted openly so that a fresh start will be possible.

In the Soviet Union the New Year is the most celebrated of holidays. It is the one holiday that has not lost its meaning. It is a warm and beautiful time of year. Families and friends get together to talk, to drink, to have fun. Unlike Americans, we don't have two winter holidays, so the New Year is like two packed in one. Celebrations go on until early morning. Homes are full of lights and streets are full of laughing people. At midnight the general secretary of the Communist Party goes on TV and takes three minutes or so to greet everybody and wishes the very best for the new year. Toasts are made—lots of toasts. Everybody must drink—to the bottom of the glass.

New Year is also a family holiday. It is an integral element of the framework in which we measure our lives and the state of humanity. The New Year celebration, like no other holiday, allows us to take stock of our victories and defeats.

Among other toasts that we make, one is almost always there: "For those who cannot be with us." This toast is being said with bitter tears in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of people in the Soviet Union, the United States and Israel this year. These tears will be on the faces of people who are called Soviet Jews.

As social beings, people are the sum-total of all their relationships with other

people. Lose someone dear to your heart and a portion of you is lost. When one's mother or father dies, a son or daughter is lost, grief is deep. But worse than a death, worse than physical torture or mortal disease is the forcible and permanent separation of families. In the annals of American slavery and Russian serfdom there was no more cruel and inhuman act than selling off the family—piece by piece. Yet that is what the Soviet government has done with regard to the segment of Soviet people they call Jews. One of the most hideous acts of modern history—the trading off of its citizens for this or that thing that the Soviet government needs, is being perpetuated. One million tons of grain? Have 10,000 Jews. Geneva summit? Have 100 men and women to be reunited with their spouses in America. Computers? That's worth 20,000 subjects. Problems in the Middle East? No problem, we have plenty more Jews to bargain away.

To spare itself embarrassment, the Soviet government had created a Big Lie. It says that the reasons 250,000 Jews, or 10 percent of Soviet Jewry, have left the country is that they were either greedy or Zionists. These images were readily picked up by pseudo-socialists in the West. Between this and lies propagated by the American and Israeli establishments that Soviet Jews have left either out of a desire to practice religion or "escape Communist enslavement," Soviet Jewry has found itself in limbo. The image that they have acquired among many progressive Westerners is that of bigoted Zionists, people who despise socialism, feel most comfortable with capitalism and have some built-in lust to become rich. Such images don't inspire sympathy on the left. They should not, if they were correct. But they're not. The vast majority of Soviet Jews, even more than the rest of the Soviet population, are atheists. Of the 250,000 that have emigrated, only 150,000 went to Israel. About 15,000 have re-emigrated from Israel to other countries. One of the main reasons they have given for this is that Israel is a religious country and they want to live in a secular one.

More than 50 percent of emigrants have

higher education or special technical training. Almost 70 percent of those that went to Israel say that their material standard of living either went down or stayed the same. About 40 percent of those that came to the U.S. say the same thing.

Very few work in their chosen professions. Those who are employable work like slaves at two and three jobs. About 40 percent of all immigrants in the U.S. are unemployed. Of those that emigrated here 15 percent were engineers, 9 percent technicians, 16.5 percent blue-collar workers, 26 percent were journalists, writers, painters, teachers, medical doctors, artists, musicians, 15 percent held various office jobs and 14 percent were working in retail trade.

For such a highly qualified group of immigrants—the most educated group that has ever immigrated to the U.S.—"upward mobility" is mostly a myth. Journalists can no longer work as journalists, doctors can no longer be doctors unless they master English perfectly and pass an exam, something many of them are too old to do. Artists and entertainers rarely succeed in being able to communicate with American audiences because of cultural incompatibility.

The intelligentsia among immigrants accounts for more than 50 percent. They suffer the most from emigration. Still, when asked if they would do it again, 70 percent of them say yes. Why? Why would these people agree to give up everything they worked for in the Soviet Union, the country of their birth, where the graves of dozens of generations of their ancestors are, and subject themselves to the horrible experiences of emigration?

There are three primary reasons: anti-Semitism, political alienation and family reunification. These were the three reasons expressed by 80 percent of the emigrants in one survey. Other reasons were the desire for an improved standard of living (6 percent, most often mentioned by blue-collar workers), adventure, the desire to see the world (5 percent, by mostly young and those from capital cities in the Soviet Union), improved opportunities for their children (7 percent, most often mentioned by those with children of college age).

Emigration from any country is a traumatic experience. From the Soviet Union it often turns to tragedy. About 30 percent of all families that have emigrated still have at least one child in the Soviet Union. More than 40 percent have mothers or fathers there. As the Soviet policies stand today, none of them will ever see their children again. One Soviet consular official in Washington, D.C., in response to the request by an emigrant to see his mother in the Soviet Union or to allow his mother to visit him in the U.S., gave the usual reply: "Under no circumstances will we ever let you see your mother."

Nor is it possible for any of the emigrants to see their relatives in another country. The Soviet Union gives no visas for those in the Soviet Union to go abroad.

Distorted reality

The entire issue of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union is mired in lies—pure and unadulterated lies. Those who remember the end of the '60s, when emigration had just started, also should remember the constant pronouncements of Soviet officials that there is nobody in the Soviet Union that wants to emigrate, except a few seduced by Zionism, or who dream of gold in the West. The cases of family reunification were, it was said, to be reviewed on an individual basis—and favorably. Since then, more than 300,000 Jews, ethnic Germans, Armenians, Poles and Greeks have emigrated. Every time the Soviet Union has clamped down on emigration they tell the same lie: every-

body who wanted to leave has already left. This was not true then. It is not true now.

The Soviet government treats people who live there not as citizens but as subjects. The mentality of czarist feudalism still persists in its political culture and in the system of individual-to-state relations.

Anti-Semitism's child

Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, is a child of anti-Semitism. Like Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement among America's blacks, it sees the solution to the problem of anti-Semitism as a return of all Jews to the land of their ancestors, Israel. Zionism was born in Eastern Europe. Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism is its "father." In its search for a home for Jews, Zionism has destroyed the home of the Palestinians. As any form of nationalism, Zionism is also a form of racism. The primary source of its existence is Great Russian chauvinism, which today takes the form of Russian national-bolshevism, represented by one of the most

The Soviets have sold off the family piece by piece for concessions from the West.

active ideological factions within the Soviet Communist Party, concentrated around such publications as *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, *Molodaia Gvardia* and the army paper, *Keasnaia Zvezda*. Although Premier Mikhail Gorbachov has hit this faction hard through the appointment of Y. Yakovlev (one of the main opponents of Russian chauvinism) to the number-one ideological post within the party, this hideous outgrowth of vulgar socialism still has plenty of strength.

Yet among the "friends of Palestinians," there are many hidden and open anti-Semites. Theirs is "a socialism of fools." The path to a Palestinian state lies not in the struggle against Jews as a people but in the struggle against anti-Semitism, wherever it may be. Anti-Semites pretending to be friends of the Palestinians are their mortal enemies.

In one of his important works, the "Holy Family," Marx says, "States that cannot emancipate Jews politically must be compared to those that can, and treated as historically inferior to the latter" (his translation from the Russian edition). The blood and tears that have been inflicted on Soviet Jews by the Soviet government through ruthless separation and the selling of their families will place the Soviet Union in this category.

The simple continuation of emigration of Soviet Jews will not put an end to this cruelty. It will make it worse. When the emigration began in the late '60s the reunification of families was a pretext suitable for the Soviet government to let people out. Some families were separated at that time, but mostly along the lines of distant relations. Today, families are divided along the closest of blood ties, thanks to the arbitrary and despotic treatment of emigrants by the Soviet government. Only the decision to allow free emigration and re-immigration, plus permission for all who live in different countries to see each other on an unhindered basis can put an end to the continuation of this barbarity.

When you celebrate this New Year, please say the toast: "This one is for those who can't be with us." Happy New Year, dear friends... *S Novym Godom!*

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PERSPECTIVES

By Fred Halliday

Soviet leaders seek Third World calm

THE THIRD WORLD APPEARS to have been given surprisingly little attention during the Reagan-Gorbachov summit. This was surprising because only a few weeks earlier, in a speech to the United Nations, Reagan had put great emphasis on what he termed "regional trouble spots" and had listed five countries in which he was going to press for a reversal of Soviet policy: Cambodia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua. For their part, the Russians have long denounced "imperialist banditry" throughout the Third World.

Afghanistan did come up, and the Americans purport to have seen some evidence of Soviet willingness to negotiate. In fact, the Soviet position has changed little. They have long been keen to discuss a withdrawal of Soviet combat troops, provided intervention by Pakistan, the U.S. and China ceases.

There are several reasons why the Third World figured so little in discussions around the fireside. First, the two sides are so far apart that there is no room for meaningful compromise. Second, the Third World is—for the time being, at least—strategically stable. The spate of Third World revolutions in the years 1974-80—14 successful ones in all—did a lot to revive Cold War belligerency in the U.S. and to sweep Reagan into office. Since 1980 the Third World has been comparatively stable: the U.S. "recaptured" Grenada, a pro-U.S. client was overthrown by a popular uprising in the Sudan. But the overall balance of power has been more or less frozen. Reagan and his people frequently call for Soviet retreats and "good behavior" in the Third World, but this is not something the Russians will negotiate. The Russians are not prepared to push changes in American policy as a condition for arms control talks: "linkage," in the Kissinger sense of making talks on arms conditional on Soviet compliance in the Third World, is a luxury in which the Russians cannot indulge. If Brezhnev received Nixon and Kissinger in May 1972, when the U.S. had just bombed Hanoi, Gorbachov is hardly likely to refuse to see Reagan if he remains on the offensive in the Third World.

Yet Gorbachov knows that the Third World remains central to East-West relations. Both Russians and Americans remember that the most dangerous moments in the nuclear relationship have been during Third World crises—the Korean war, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. The Third World also remains the area in which the two sides actively compete for influence in a way they cannot in Europe. But now the USSR faces the "Reagan doctrine"—the campaign not just to prevent further revolutions, but to undermine, harass and eventually reverse those revolutions that have come to power. Economic blockades, media campaigns and, above all, guerrilla operations are the ways in which this policy is being implemented.

Changing relationship

The USSR cannot ignore the Third World, but its relationship to it is different from that of two decades ago. Initial Soviet optimism—epitomised in Khrushchev's support for Egypt under Nasser—has given way to a more sober assessment of Third World allies. The defections of countries like Egypt and Somalia made Moscow prudent in its commitments to radically nationalist regimes. The USSR also lacks the requirements of large-scale foreign aid programs—hard currency, food, consumer goods.

Gorbachov has inherited a more restrained outlook, which developed in the early '70s. The great majority of Soviet

aid now goes to the six countries ruled by pro-Soviet Communist parties—Mongolia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Afghanistan and Cuba. Soviet leaders have time and again stressed that economic aid to the non-Communist radical states—the "states of socialist orientation"—will be limited. These states must look elsewhere for most of the aid they need. This goes for Ethiopia as much as for Nicaragua, Angola or Tanzania.

The Soviet Union can supply arms, but it cannot make commitments to defend distant allies from direct attack. Even Cuba has no defense treaty with the USSR. Gorbachov also knows that the number of states that are firm allies of the USSR is small indeed. In last month's UN vote on Afghanistan, only 10 Third World states, out of more than 100, voted with the USSR.

Faced with this situation, Gorbachov appears to have drawn up a set of realistic priorities. First is to prevent Third World allies from precipitating major confrontations with the U.S. Stalin's experience with Kim Il-sung, who dragged him into the Korean war, and Brezhnev's with Nasser and Sadat, makes this danger clear. In private, Soviet officials complain that Third World states underestimate the dangers of nuclear war and are prone to adventurist initiatives. Qaddafi must be a prime concern in this regard.

A second goal is to hold onto the allies they have in the face of the Reagan Doctrine. Significantly, in the months preceding the summit, Soviet-armed Third World states facing guerrilla harassment all went on the offensive: in Cambodia, there was the largest-ever dry season offensive against the Khmers Rouges and others; in Afghanistan, Soviet and Afghan forces began systematic operations in border areas; in Ethiopia, the Eritrean guerrillas lost the town of Barentu and part of the border was closed as Ethiopia also began negotiations with Sudan on mutual non-interference; in Angola and Mozambique, government forces took the offensive against UNITA and the MNR respectively; in Nicaragua, the *contras* began to meet helicopter gunships. None of these campaigns has been decisive, but they betoken a new firmness.

Political change

This consolidation of existing allies also involves political change. The Russians cannot control Third World revolutionary parties as they once did those in Eastern Europe. Factionalism in the Afghan party, which contributed to the crisis there in 1978-9, brought in Soviet troops. An avoidable split in the leadership of the New Jewel Movement in Grenada opened the door to Reagan in 1983. Soviet exasperation with the Ethiopians has long focused on factionalism within the regime there, a problem that has not been resolved by the founding of a Workers' Party of Ethiopia under military control.

As little as most of their Third World allies listen to them, the Russians continue to advise unity and caution. It is one dimension in which the Nicaraguans must score higher than most in Soviet estimation. In South Yemen the ruling Yemeni Socialist Party has just held a congress in which representatives of two losing factions in leadership disputes have been brought back into the Central Committee, in an evident attempt to put conflicts to rest. The USSR encouraged this reconciliation process.

A further area of Soviet Third World policy is taking initiatives to resolve secondary disputes. Gorbachov has stressed that the USSR wants to develop relations "with large and small states," and one of the key new appointees in the Central Committee Secretariat, Nikolai Yakovlev, is known to favor better relations with Western Europe, and a relative downplaying of U.S.-Soviet ties.

Signs of this new multipolarity are already clear. In the Far East there has been the first visit by a Soviet minister to Indonesia in 20 years and a marked improvement in relations with North Korea, to whom Moscow sold Mig-23s last August. In the Mideast, relations have been estab-

Mikhail Gorbachov seeks to consolidate the Soviet position in the Third World.



Der Spiegel

Despite Reagan's pre-summit efforts, the Third World did not figure at the event.

lished with Oman and the United Arab Emirates and a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation signed with North Yemen. Relations with Egypt have improved a little, and indirect contacts resumed with Israel. The USSR is relieved at the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and is encouraging improved relations between Syria and Iraq. Despite continued frictions with Iran, talks on increased economic ties have again started.

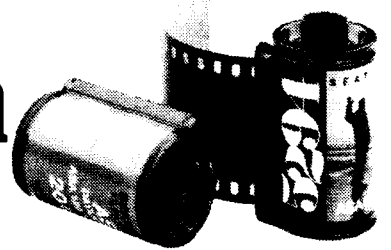
The Soviet Union is also showing more interest in southern Africa. The Soviet stance remains extremely cautious there, but increased military aid to Angola, and the presence of Politburo member Geider Aliev at the recent MPLA Congress, indicate a higher degree of Soviet interest. The visit of Zimbabwean President Mugabe to Moscow in early December, the first he has made there, also betokens a new Soviet willingness to support forces hostile to apartheid.

The USSR would most like to improve relations with China. In Chinese eyes, the three major obstacles to progress—Afghanistan, Cambodia, Soviet troops on the frontier—remain. But trade has increased along with official visits. Soviet press coverage of China's economic reforms has become much more polite, not to say curious, and China has indicated accommodation on Afghanistan and Cambodia may be possible. The formal effacement of Pol Pot as leader of the Khmers Rouges may even betoken greater flexibility on China's part. But China is now more concerned about SS-20s in the Soviet Far East, and there is competition for influence in Korea, with China edging nearer to South Korea as Moscow courts the North.

The new Soviet leadership is seeking to consolidate what it has in the Third World, and to open diplomatic doors. The latter policy is pursued even to the extent of grotesque and short-sighted opportunism, as in the recent Soviet reception of Imelda Marcos. But prudent as Gorbachov evidently is, he must know, too, that the Third World may contain more than a few surprises for the U.S. in the years ahead. As Lebanon showed, American public opinion is still reluctant to suffer troop deaths in the Third World. Without Soviet intervention, the U.S. faces many Third World problems. The Soviet Union is not the cause of Third World upheavals, but it may, as in the '70s, derive benefit and satisfaction from them.

Fred Halliday, professor at the London School of Economics, writes regularly for In These Times.

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By Alan Cheuse

26 Oct.—*Can't find my compass, which I misplaced while drunk last night.*

Discovered this day 3 big patches of ginseng growing in the shade of the beeches near the W. bank of the creek, below the ford. Returned there about 2 PM with my sang hoe & began digging. Tho' some roots have succumbed to fungus, perhaps 90 lbs. remain.

Cleaned & dried, they'll bring me \$6.40....

THIS PASSAGE FROM HUGH NISSENSON'S *The Tree of Life*, a novel in the form of a frontier diary, says a lot about how one reader-writer feels, given some adjustment for inflation, about digging around for a list of the best books of the year. It suggests the fatigue involved, in any case, and the quality of surprise that comes from finding a first-rate work of fiction.

Nissenson's novel gave me that kind of thrill. An American Book Award fiction nominee, *The Tree of Life* is a book about the American frontier the likes of which we haven't seen since Robert Penn Warren's novel of the Kentucky wilderness, *World Enough and Time*. Nissenson's story immerses us in the every-day details of early American life on the Ohio borderlands and doesn't spare any of the awfulness. In fact, the writer heaps it on. Whether he's describing incipient sexual psychosis or the shocking minutiae of a scalping, Nissenson skillfully shapes the material into a resonant fable of innocence and experience—an Anglo-Saxon paradigm that was often tested on the frontier—and still is.

Nissenson's main character, Keene, is a fallen New Englander who has lost both his wife and his faith. Keene moves west to drink (and runs a still so that others might drink, too) and keeps a diary that shapes the narrative structure. Keene also paints, writes poetry, reads erotic Latin verse to himself at night, masturbates, and has a degrading affair with a black slave woman whom the settlers have rescued from the local Indians.

The whites need to be rescued from themselves. But there's little hope of salvation, despite what John Chapman, the man whom we've come to know in legend as Johnny Appleseed, preaches about a Swedenborgian paradise. Fortunately for readers, no one need rescue the novel from the dangerous clutches of allegory. Chapman's apple trees, which he trades for foodstuffs and shelter, are first and foremost apple trees. The heaven he talks about constantly, to whites and Indian alike, is purely illusory. If there is an Eden, with a tree or three at its center, that Eden is Richland County, Ohio, in 1811—and if these frontier folk fall, they fall into history. Ours. The future is heaven.

Blood Meridian

Fortunately for Nissenson, his book fell into the hands of some keen-minded judges at the American Book Awards. Another fine novel published this year, *Blood Meridian*, by the gifted Tennessee writer Cormac McCarthy was nearly ignored by reviewers, not to mention judges making awards (although there's still a slim chance that the National Book Critics Circle might do it justice, though I'm not counting on it. The organization's *Vigilante justice for horse thieves and novelists*

tion is made up of reviewers—and none of them reviewed it.)

At least Cormac McCarthy does not have to worry about obscurity. He probably has learned to live with it by now. Although he has won Guggenheims and, recently, a MacArthur Foundation Award, a small fraction of the already minute part of the American readership that cares seriously about literature knows his name—and fewer still have read his books. Only because of the admirable loyalty of his publishers of 20-some years (Random House) do we get to see his new books when they are ready—and then we watch them remain unreviewed.

In the case of *Blood Meridian* it's easy to see why some readers would be horrified by the novel. The picture it makes of the American West in the 1850s is one of nearly unrelenting horror and evil, with settlers, Indians, Mexicans, lawmen, outlaws, and soldiers all behaving with a rapacity, a monstrosity that makes nearly every convention about the Old West seem like something out of fairy-tale—and turns our wild history into the organized mayhem of Dante's *Inferno*.

It's no accident that McCarthy's subtitle for the novel is "The Evening Redness in the West." *Blood Meridian* is a Domsday book in reverse, a portrayal of the origins of American expansionism with its roots in theology and history. As in this beautifully wrought and woefully exact sequence from a massacre of a camp of Apaches by a group of white mercenaries and their Delaware henchmen:

Women were screaming and naked children and one old man

tottered forth waving a pair of white pantaloons. The horsemen moved among them and slew them with clubs or knives. A hundred tethered dogs were howling and others were racing crazed among the huts ripping at one another and at the tied dogs nor would this bedlam and clamor cease or diminish from the first moment the riders entered the village. Already a number of the huts were afire and a whole enfilade of refugees had begun streaming north along the shore wailing crazily with the riders among them like herdsmen clubbing down the laggards first....

People were running out under the horses' hooves and the horses

against the stones so that the brains burst forth through the fontanel in a bloody spew and humans on fire came shrieking forth like berserkers and the riders hacked them down with their enormous knives.

A Tennessee-born runaway known throughout as the Kid rides with these scalp-hunters and participates in the mayhem. Despite his youth, he is the opposite of an ingenue. He's an anti-hero in a dark world colored by brilliant landscapes, which is described in some of the most highly charged and evocative prose since Malcolm Lowry's *Under the Volcano*. It's not so much that a terrible

FICTION

This year's new frontiers

were plunging and some of the men were moving on foot among the huts and dragging the victims out, slathered and dripping with blood, hacking at the dying and decapitating those who knelt for mercy. There were in the camp a number of Mexican slaves and these ran forth calling in Spanish and were brained or shot and one of the Delawares emerged from the smoke with a naked infant dangling in each hand and squatted at a ring of midden stones and swung them by the heels each in turn and bashed their heads

beauty is born here, as Yeats wrote of the Easter Insurrection in Ireland, as a beautiful terror, the terror of history as an endless round of excruciatingly beautiful sunsets and meticulously monstrous massacres, with little relief between. This is a style which if it were music would be all brass and kettle drum—a brittle, brilliant march on the way to the gallows.

It's not surprising that even sophisticated readers shy away from McCarthy's work. In a world of sanitized violence—in the news, in movies, on television, in historical instruction—it takes some courage to look such matters in the face.

Both McCarthy's red-tinged masterpiece and Nissenson's fine book partake of a deep historical

sense, however differing in practice. Two other books that I would judge to be among the best fiction of the year attempt to treat the present with the same attention to the relationship between character and social action. One book has already received the high honor of being chosen the best novel of 1985 by the jury of the American Book Award committee. This is Don DeLillo's *White Noise* (Viking).

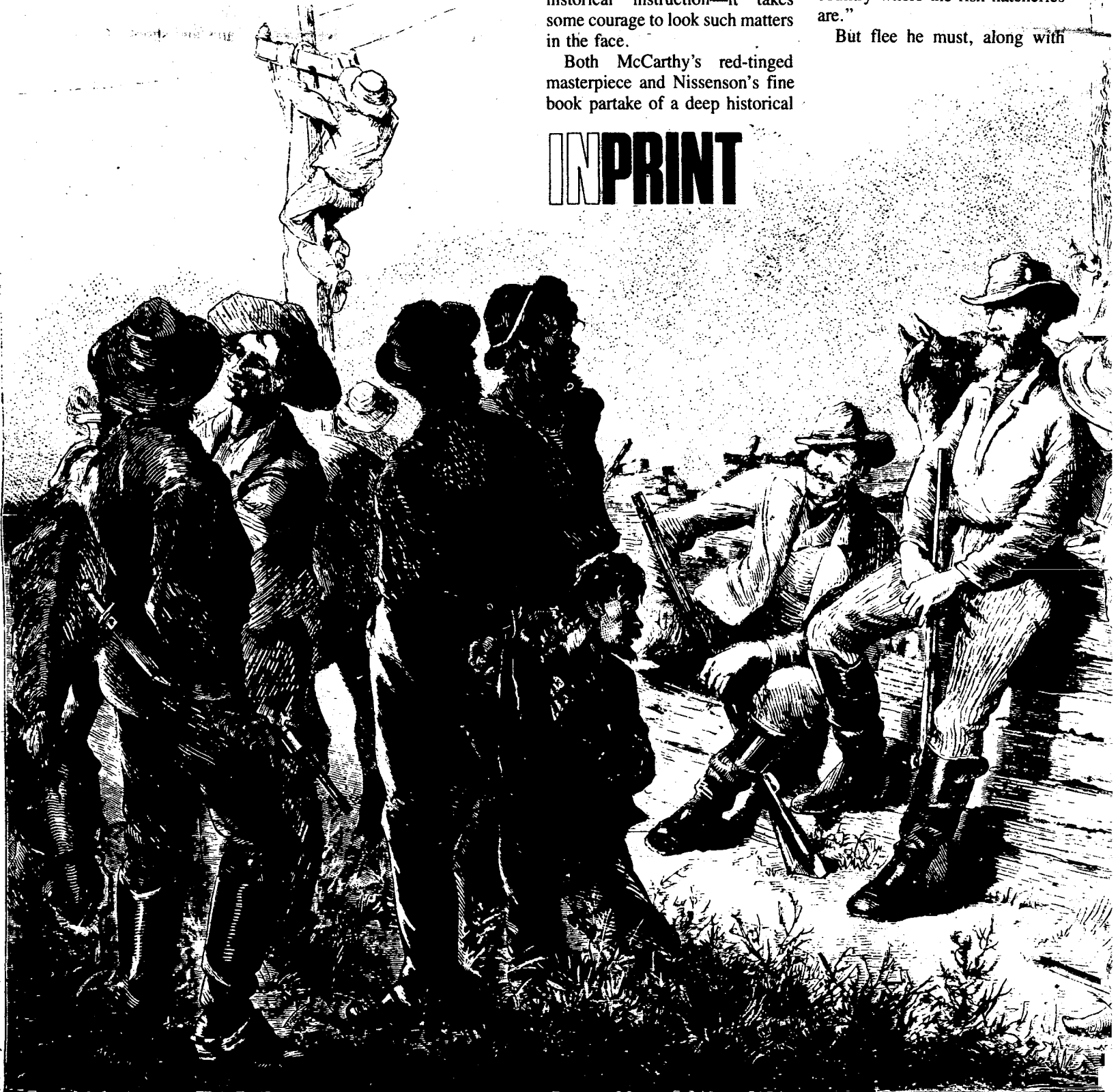
White Noise

DeLillo's plot finds Midwestern college professor Jack Gladney and his family uprooted from their home by a county-wide emergency: an industrial accident sends a cloud of poisonous gas billowing across the tranquil landscape. This leads to Gladney's discovery of some terrible truths about his own life and his country's.

One of these truths we as readers know from the start. That's the way that Gladney tilts reality slightly skyward by means of the peculiar way he speaks about America. He's a college professor in a world just slightly off-center from his world. He's head of "Hitler Studies" at the college on the hill, though at the novel's opening he neither reads nor speaks German. However, he does have a large sense of his own importance, as he tells his son, a verbally precocious boy who seems to know everything pertinent about the advancing cloud of toxic gas. "I'm the head of a department," Gladney says. "I don't see myself fleeing an airborne toxic event. That's for people who live in mobile homes out in scrubby parts of the country where the fish hatcheries are."

But flee he must, along with

INPRINT



STAR WARS

The unhappy warriors

Star Warriors

By William J. Broad
Simon & Schuster, 245 pp.,
hardcover \$16.95

By William Smock

WHY IS IT SO EASY TO shoot the Strategic Defense Initiative full of holes? How can the idea survive? William J. Broad, a *New York Times* science writer, talked to the system's architects at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. (For more information see last week's three-part Star Wars series in the *New York Times*, as well as the Nov. 6 *In These Times*.) Livermore scientists turned out to be as dissatisfied as everyone else with Reagan's promise of a magical antidote to war. Their idea all along was to beat the Soviets.

Broad's conversations at Livermore throw light on compelling questions. The following are some of Broad's key contentions:

Where did the Star Wars idea come from? My own theory was that a Rube Goldberg plan like this must have started in the White House and scientists are scrambling to make it look plausible. On the contrary, says Broad. Edward Teller sold Star Wars to Reagan. Teller has been pushing missile defense in Washington and Wall Street ever since he built the first H-bomb. In the '60s he spearheaded anti-ballistic missile research, and he fought the ABM Treaty of 1972.

Livermore is Teller's bailiwick. It was built for him in 1952. By now it measures a mile on each side, has 8,000 employees and an annual budget approaching \$1 billion. Edward Teller, technically retired at 76, is still the top dog.

New! Improved?

Has anything new actually been invented? The nuclear-pumped X-ray laser has worked in underground tests. When exposed to the heat and radiation of an H-bomb blast it produced coherent X-rays. A focused X-ray beam, traveling at the speed of light, could fatally damage missiles in outer space. The design's theoretical soundness has been confirmed by Nobel prizewinner Hans Bethe, a Star Wars opponent.

Now Livermore hopes to build a portable model with 50 lasing rods strapped around an H-bomb. Each rod would swivel independently to zap a different target in the millisecond before the whole package vaporizes.

Is Star Wars simply intended as a bargaining chip in arms control negotiations? That possibility is not seriously considered in *Star Warriors*.

How serious is Reagan's offer to share Star Wars with the Soviets? Nobody interviewed gives it a second thought.

Is Star Wars really designed as an economic bludgeon, to bankrupt the Soviet Union by accelerating the arms race? Yes. One of its selling points is a favorable "cost exchange ratio." Every dollar we spend forces the Soviets to spend far more.

The Soviets have kept pace with us in specific technologies such as

rockets and bombs. But they would be hard-pressed to duplicate the simultaneous breakthroughs in computers, telemetry and weapons that Star Wars demands. Star Wars will throw all the technical capabilities of the Western World into the arms race.

How far along is Star Wars research? Broad writes only of the X-ray laser, not the railguns, particle beams and optical lasers that the administration has recently dragged out. The current X-ray laser is a subterranean blunderbuss. To be successful it must get smaller and more powerful. It will need an aiming mechanism, a missile-sensing system and a computer that is smaller, faster and smarter than any that now exists.

Depending partly on the success of these efforts, a method of deployment will have to be chosen. Should the X-ray laser sit in orbit, or should it be launched after a Soviet missile offensive begins? According to Broad, Teller's favorite is the "pop-up" strategy. X-ray lasers would be launched from submarines off Europe to chase Soviet missiles into space.

Five minutes after blastoff, Soviet boosters burn out and release a swarm of warheads and decoys. "Pop-up" gives us five minutes to recognize an attack, get word to the subs, lift the X-ray lasers above most of the atmosphere, aim them at Soviet rocket flares and shoot.

The alternative is to orbit H-bombs over the Soviet Union. Satellites make easy targets. A single H-bomb blast in space emits an "electromagnetic pulse" strong enough to short-circuit any satellite not in the earth's shadow.

Electromagnetic pulse is just one of the imponderables of space defense. Anti-satellite missiles, ground-based lasers, faster-burning ICBM's and just plain more ICBM's all look like good candidates to thwart a Star Wars system.

Could Star Wars actually fend off a missile attack? Partially, at best. The most anyone at Livermore could promise was that it would exact a price from the Soviets: add "uncertainty" to nuclear scenarios and require vast expenditures to maintain nuclear parity. It will exact this price as long as nobody knows for sure how ineffectual it is.

And we pay for it. On top of this year's \$2.7 billion for Star Wars research, we are spending \$174 million on countermeasures in case the Soviets build one.

The system would be unbelievably complex and could never be tested. Broad mentions that the U.S. has never successfully test-fired an ICBM from an operational missile silo. There have been four failed attempts.

Even if it were feasible, the system could only stop land-based ICBM's. A mere 20 percent of the U.S. arsenal of strategic nuclear warheads falls into that category.

Broad concludes, "Using it for anything other than a bargaining chip seems pure folly."

The beast and the brightest

One of Broad's central questions for Livermore scientists is: "Why do they work on it?" He spent a

week at Livermore with "O Group," the lab's top theoreticians. They are young, certifiably brilliant products of the nation's best universities. It takes a certain administrative genius to lure them into the burnt-flesh trade. O Group's head and chief recruiter is Lowell Wood, 42, a longtime protegee of Edward Teller. Wood and Teller offer Hertz Fellowships, endowed by the Rent-A-Car king, to precocious seniors in good science departments. In addition to a generous stipend, Hertz fellows get an invitation to use Livermore's vast resources for their non-military thesis research. Their office mates are smart, sympathetic

The U.S. has never successfully test-fired an ICBM from an operational missile silo.

weapons designers; Wood presides over their work as coach and benefactor. After a suitable period of acculturation they are asked to pitch in on a pressing military problem. Few novices, according to Wood, refuse to "turn."

The saddest convert is Peter Hagelstein, 29, creator of the X-ray laser. Hagelstein's life at Livermore begins with four years of research on a medical diagnostic tool, a problem in advanced physics suggested by Wood. The woman Hagelstein loves joins anti-Livermore demonstrations and begs him to get out. Then Wood reveals that the medical tool has immediate military potential.

A Livermore veteran, George Chapline, is about to solve Hagelstein's research problem by powering the device with an H-bomb. Hagelstein resists the invitation to get involved. Wood questions his scientific manhood. Hagelstein gives in, and lifts the arms race to a new plateau. The woman he loves walks out, and Hagelstein enters a period of prolonged depression.

Secrecy, higher mathematics and arrogance make the perfect shield to isolate Livermore from the voting public. Even the generals can't control it. They don't know physics. So Livermore deals directly with the Oval Office and meets each objection to Star Wars with a new research proposal: satellites invisible to radar but impervious to electromagnetic pulse, free electron lasers, particle beams and so on. It even looks as if Star Wars can be saved from the X-ray laser. In his latest speeches, Ronald Reagan insists the system will be non-nuclear.

Star Warriors confirms what everyone but Reagan seems to realize: Star Wars was designed to win nuclear wars, not to preclude them.

William Smock is a San Francisco filmmaker.

wife and children, from the seeming paradise of American materialism (at one point he wanders in a consumer's trance through a hardware store stocked "with 22-foot ladders, six kinds of sandpaper, power saws that can fell trees and rope that hangs like tropical fruit, beautifully braided strands, thick, brown, strong...." Gladney seeks temporary shelter in the country, and returns to campus life utterly changed by discoveries he makes during his exodus. But plot remains secondary to De Lillo's continual unfolding of the truth of American language and vision. No writer working today—not Thomas Berger, not Thomas Pynchon, not Donald Barthelme—wields contemporary idiom with the ferocity of Don De Lillo.

Here, for example, is a young man from SUMUVAC, the simulated evacuation program that goes into effect when the deadly poison gas menaces Gladney's town. "The insertion curve isn't as smooth as we would like. There's a probability excess. Plus which we don't have our victims laid out where we'd want them if this was an actual simulation. In other words we're forced to take our victims as we find them. We didn't get a jump on computer traffic. Suddenly it just spilled out, three-dimensionally, all over the landscape. You have to make allowances for the fact that everything we see tonight is real...."

Later that Same Day

The other book of this pair that treats contemporary life so powerfully is Grace Paley's collection of stories *Later the Same Day* (Farrar, Strauss, Giroux). Paley tells stories of middle-aged city dwellers—she penetrates their everyday

habits and hopes and loves and illusions, their minute heroisms and silly betrayals, in a quirky and forgiving voice. She manages to develop more wisdom in a metaphor or a shift of vocalism, more revelation in a character lifting a coffee cup at breakfast, than most of us will ever realize in our own lives.

In "Dreamer in a Dead Language," Faith, Paley's ubiquitous, middle-aged narrator, takes us on a trip with her kids and lover to the old folks home in Coney Island where her parents are residing. Her father boasts that the woman who edits the literary magazine for the old folks there "listens like a disease."

In "Friends," another remarkable story, both because of its insight into human relations and language, Faith and her friends visit Selena, a pal dying of cancer, and then take the train home. Selena, among other troubles, lost her daughter Abby to a drug overdose years before. Thinking of such events on the ride home Faith says names to herself over and over, "so those names can take thickness and strength and fall back into the world with their weight."

There are many other fine stories in this collection—such as "Listening," "The Expensive Moment," "Zagrowsky Tells," "Love" and "The Story Hearer"—stories about contemporary life that carry with them the density, the pith of lives lived over and over again. Yet Paley tells them in ways we've never heard, gives them thickness and strength so that they fall back into the world again with their true weight.

Alan Cheuse is a fiction writer and journalist currently in residence at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.



Mexico's youth find roots in homegrown rock

By Peter Katel

IQUIT!" THE SINGER YELLED TO a crowd of 800, almost all males in their late teens and early 20s, gathered in a big back yard in a suburban working-class neighborhood.

"I don't want to work any more," he sang, backed by a tight, bluesy quintet. "It nearly kills me I don't even make enough to eat."

Fans—factory workers, furniture makers and gardeners—pushed toward the rickety wooden stage, lit by a few bare bulbs as club-toting bouncers wandered through the crowd.

The setting, south of Mexico City in Xochimilco, was a far cry from the comfortable clubs and well-tended arenas that are rock's main forums in the U.S. But for El Tri, the group on stage, it was typical.

The band leads a wave of musicians now creating a national rock music in decrepit athletic stadiums and courtyards of this city's slums and in tiny concert halls and bookstores in university areas.

Breaking away from a tradition of imitating foreign bands, they sing in the rich, colorful and sometimes obscene slang of the city streets. Their subject matter, too, comes from urban Mexico with its corrupt police, jammed public transit and street performers breathing fire for spare change.

"There's a real Mexico," said Armando Vega, bassist and singer with the Tria Botellita de Jerez (little bottle of sherry), "of the metro, of poverty, of unemployment. Our goal is to make real this real Mexico." Foreign rock can't do that, and domestic mass culture presents only "a pleasant vision of the world," Vega says.

The reality rockers rarely reach radio and TV where Madonna, the Rolling Stones and Michael Jackson still rule—though their reach is limited. "We can't understand Gabacho rock very deeply," says Lorenzo Ybanez, 19, using a mildly uncomplimentary term for the people and products of the U.S.

More than any other group, El Tri aims to give voice to the anger of Mexico's huge youthful under-

ground 14 years ago during a stormy period marked by open repression of the youth protest movement. "Rock was prohibited in Mexico," said Chela Brainiff, co-owner of a new record and promotion company, Comrock. "Records weren't made and concerts weren't allowed."

The new Mexican rock, which involves about a dozen Mexico City bands, seems to be emerging slowly. Last year, restrictions on public performance were lifted and Botellita signed a three-year record contract with Polygram, a multinational firm, but the new music is far from fully accepted by the mass entertainment industry.

This does not trouble rock fans and musicians, who long ago set up their own lines of communication. One hub of the network is a three-block section downtown where fans, musicians and promoters gather every Saturday to trade, buy and sell records and tapes and exchange news and gossip.

Concert settings are still usually improvised: Lora and El Tri made their reputation playing clubs of dubious legality known as *Hoyos Funkies*, or funky holes.

Lora, a slender 32-year-old with curly brown hair, mostly talks, as he sings, in street slang. Though he identifies with the underclass, he grew up in comfortable neighborhoods, the son of well-to-do parents who wanted him to be an architect or engineer.

El Tri grew out of a trio that he co-founded in 1968 with the unlikely non-Spanish name of Three Souls in My Mind—a tribute, he says, to the popularity of soul music, to long names such as Creedence Clearwater Revival and to English-language rock. The group's first album was in English, but they soon started singing in their own language.

Botellita's Vega says El Tri "created a tradition—because they sing in Spanish, and their lyrics are totally rebellious, and they create songs in the *hoyos funkies* with lyrics to be listened to."

When it first came here, rock was enjoyed simply as loud music with a strong beat, sung in a



Salvador Bustos



Guardabarranco

mistakably Mexican, their intricate surreal lyrics filled with references to national history as well as international politics.

In a recent concert for some 200 jammed into a 100-seat hall at the Ghandi Bookstore, Botellita performed a song about former Mexico City police chief Arturo Durazo, now facing extradition from the U.S. on charges including arms dealing. The song tells of fooling Durazo by selling him flour for cocaine, plays on the name of the current police chief and ends with a multi-layered pun on Durazo's manhood.

At a recent concert by El Tri and others in Netzahualcoyotl—a suburban shanty town known as Mexico City's "misery belt"—El Tri opened by inviting the crowd to sing along about waiting interminably for a bus. "It's nice to be here, in the republic of Netzahualcoyotl," he announced, bringing cheers from the crowd, pleased at a bit of boosterism for an area that's looked down upon for its poverty and ugliness.

Mexican rock's strength is in such neighborhoods, said Lora the following week, sitting in the cab of his red Dodge pickup. "People support our group," he said, "because it comes from the same roots they do."

©Pacific News Service

"Volcanto" erupts on Nicaraguan cultural stage

By Michael S. Kimmel

NICARAGUA'S POLITICAL transformation has inspired a cultural renaissance, and one impressive result is *volcanto*, a branch of the New Song movement that takes its name from the volcanos that dot the Nicaraguan countryside and the Spanish word for song (*canto*). Katia and Salvador Cardenal (a brother and sister duo who sing under the name Guardabarranco) and Salvador Bustos are young singer/songwriters who are part of the Volcanto movement. And their new records—Bustos' subtly lyrical *Tragaluz* (Skylight) and Guardabarranco's passionate *Si Buscabas* (If You Were Looking), produced by American pop singer Jackson Browne and released in the U.S. by Redwood Records—

capture the heart of the new Nicaragua.

Although this is "folk" music, it is not your standard "three-chord verse and catchy instantly-singable chorus" variety. Bustos and the Cardenals write and sing hauntingly melodic and complex acoustic songs, drawing on Latin American folk and classical traditions. And their lyrics range over a wide variety of emotions.

Bustos' lovely tenor voice—at times soothing, at others achingly sincere—is eloquently accompanied by finger-picking his nylon stringed guitar. His songs are lovingly built from his experiences—as a grocery clerk under the Somoza dictatorship, in the recent rural literacy campaign (which reduced illiteracy from 51 percent to 12 percent), and in love in a country constantly under attack by the *contras*.

This new music aims to give voice to the anger of Mexico's huge underclass.



class. Other musicians credit Alexandro Lora, El Tri's leader, songwriter, vocalist and bassist, with doing more than anyone to keep Mexican rock alive.

The music, and the musicians, were effectively forced under-

foreign language. In those days, says Guillermo Briseno, an avant garde rocker and poet, "a furor began among Mexican youth that persists to this day—to try to be what we're not, to be like other people." Briseno's songs are un-

One song "Mi Casa" (My House) lyrically describes the human elements in constructing a new world, while another, "No Volveran" (They Will Not Return), appreciates the important role of women in the Nicaraguan revolution. Most impressively, "Cancion Sin Rodillas" (Song Without Knees) sings so lovingly of his country's emergence that you wonder who our president is talking about when he refers to "totalitarian dungeons." "Mi cancion es una embarcacion/ pequenita valiente bonita/ audaz sobrevive/ en este centro de bajas presiones/ la marea es su amigo coro" (My song is an embarking/ small brave beautiful/ daring it survives/ in the center of cruel pressures/ the high sea of its friendly chorus).

Guardabarranco's record is equally poetic, and Katia Cardenal's textured alto is a superb complement to her brother's impassioned tenor. In the title song, Katia sings of love and passion with a strength as liberating as the emotions and Craig Doerge (from Jackson Browne's band) adds just enough piano to support the song without stealing the show. Politically inspired songs, like "Guerrero Del Amor" (Warrior of Love) and "Ayapal," which depict the pain of the war against the *contras*, are well-balanced with evocative melodies of love.

Often, records from Third World performers reflect the imbalance

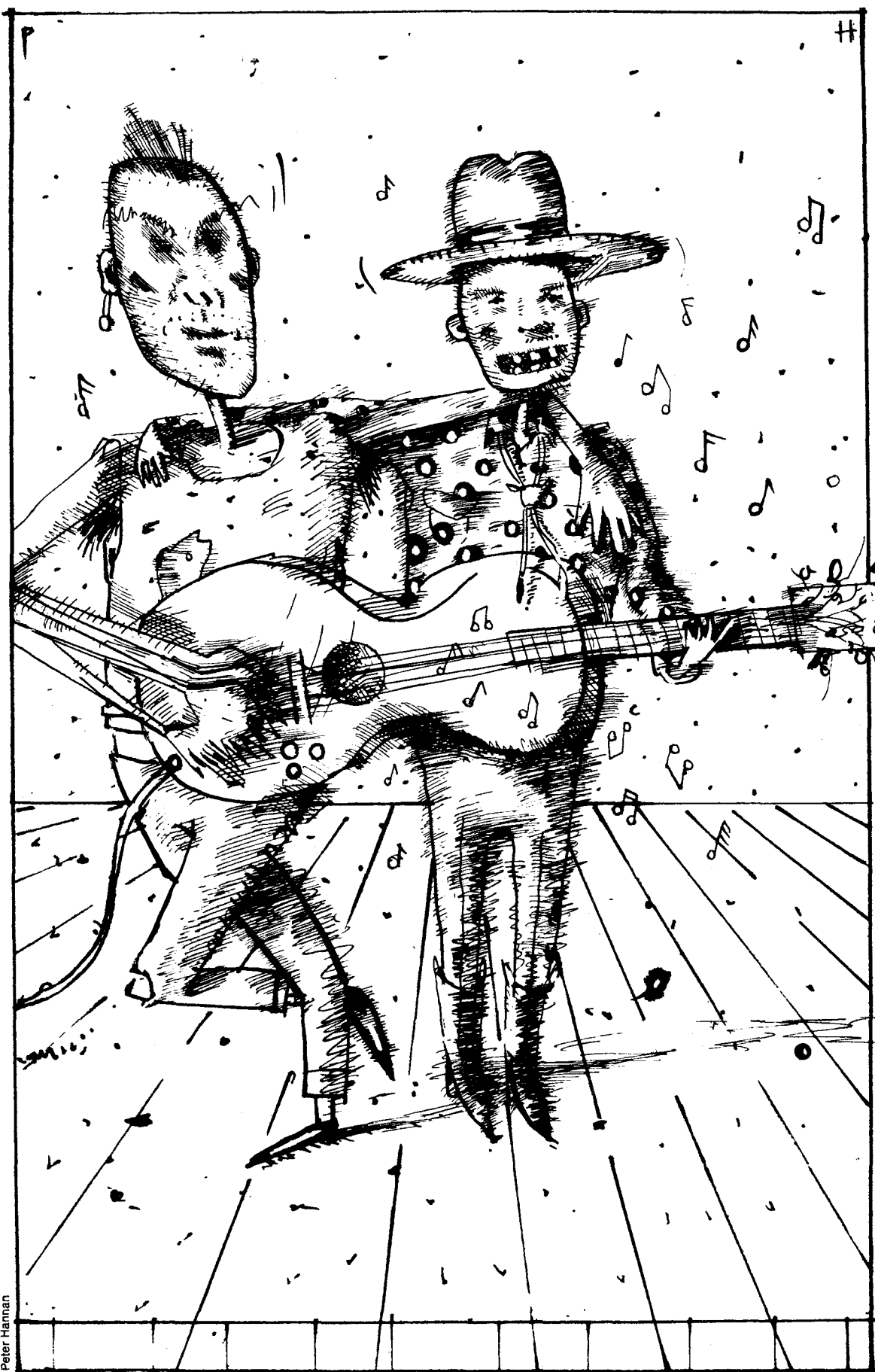
Music created by these artists illuminates political reality.

of technology with the U.S. Records hiss and pop, and the sound quality is so poor that the listener has to strain to hear anything more than surface noise. But not on these records. After traveling to Nicaragua, Jackson Browne was so impressed by what he heard that he invited Bustos and Guardabarranco to his Los Angeles home to record these records. As a result, these two records are crisp and clean, the guitars ring and the voices blend effortlessly. Members of Browne's band punctuate several songs—a little drum here, a piano run there—without ever pushing the Nicaraguans or their music out of the spotlight. Browne is not the only U.S. performer to find the voices of *Volcanto* important and inspiring, but he is the first to actively support their music in such a concrete way. And it's a credit also to Holly Near and her company Redwood Records for releasing these songs. All the lyrics are well translated for the linguistically limited by Aurora Levins-Morales.

The music of Salvador Bustos and Guardabarranco is as impressive for what it does not do as for what it does. They neither ignore political realities to hide in a solipsistic world of romance, nor do they hit the listener over the head with polemical songs. To sing of hope, of passion, of friendship, using a language of self-respect, of dignity, requires the belief that one is free to determine one's future.

Michael Kimmel is a sociologist at Rutgers University.

Punk meets hillbilly in the musical mainstream



Peter Hannan

By Steve Perry

REMEMBER PUNK? WELL, it's been almost 10 years since the Sex Pistols mounted their storm troopers' assault on rock's old guard, and in that time straight-ahead punk has gone the way of all flesh. A handful of bands like X remain, but most of them are either monkeying with new styles or disappearing.

With punk, more than any other form, the burn-out was inevitable. It was part of the manifesto. Punk was a groundburst of sheer anger and energy, the best of which was anti-musical, anti-lyrical and anti-social. There was no way for it to survive as a musical genre, because it had no content or direction of its own, really; it represented a subversive attitude toward other forms, especially the jet set rock scene that had congealed by the mid-'70s. Johnny Rotten's broadsides against Rod Stewart sum it

up pretty well.

Punk didn't just go away, though, any more than the fallout from an atomic bomb just goes away. The thriving hardcore scene (which *Rolling Stone* still calls punk) would be unimaginable without it, and so would the more fascist strains of '80s metal. Right now the fusion of punk and country music is getting lots of attention, thanks to the likes of X, Jason & the Scorchers, and lesser knowns such as Charlie Pickett, Charlie Burton and EIEIO (and, curiously, Lone Justice, a country-rock band with a first-rate singer).

Incongruous as it may seem, this is a pretty natural marriage. A survey of the output of Sun Records makes it seem downright inevitable. In a time when the cultural heritage of the '50s has been boiled down to two dimensions and sold back to us as harmless fun, it's hard to remember that Jerry Lee and Elvis—whose roots were as much in country as in

blues—were no less threatening in their milieu than the punks in theirs; or that Carl Perkins' cat clothes and blue suede shoes were as desperate and radical as the later safety pins and razor blades.

On the edge

Hillbilly and punk are both the music of people locked out of mainstream society. As outsiders who never even had a chance to get in, they affirm their status with pride and pain. Besides marginal social status, punks and hillbillies share your basic kickass aesthetic, where rawness and immediacy count for more than technical proficiency and showmanship. Then there's the cathartic violence that hovers near the edge of each.

But most of all, when punk meets country in X, their spinoff the Knitters, the Scorchers, *et al*, there's such an abundance of honky-tonk melodrama that George Jones might blush. These bands' fascination with country

music's three Ds (drinking, divorce and despair) weds the nihilism of punk to country's poetics of loss and endurance and yields a sensibility less given to their characteristic excesses: less terminal than punk and less maudlin than country. X sensed this connection early on. *Under the Big Black Sun* tapped themes of drinking, adultery, guilt and general wrong-doin' that would seem right at home on a country record: "At night I get drunk and fly around/ In the day I dream and lay around/ I drink and smoke your brand and drink/ I am drunk over you/ I am the married kind/ The kind that said I do/ Forever searching for someone new."

Jason & the Scorchers' songs are filled with the same demons—not just guilt and anger, but sadness and longing: "I was just a lad/ Barely 22/ Neither good nor bad/ Just a kid like you/ And now I'm lost/ Too late to pray/ I'm just another guy/ Out on the lost highway." In those lines from Jason's cover of Hank Williams' "Lost Highway" may lie the secret heart of the punk-country affinity. This music conveys not just the rage that punk expressed about social deprivation and hypocrisy, but remorse, too, at all the chances that deprivation caused them to miss.

It's no coincidence that X made the country connection early on, and that X is also one of the few punk bands to survive and to mature into something bigger. The musicmaking aesthetics of punk and country are perversely compatible, and so are their bleak worldviews. Country gives punk a sense of ongoingness, of a world full of pain, guilt and fucked-up people that nonetheless keeps on turning. Punk, in turn, gives country a kick in the ass and makes it sound leaner and tougher. Moreover, the combination of the two lets the punk sensibility approach the musical mainstream and still circumvent the rock star ethos that helped spawn punk in the first place. Hell of a deal.

There's no telling whether this musical fusion will go places. Be-

As incongruous as it may seem, punks and hillbillies share a basic kickass aesthetic and a similar social status.

sides everything that feels right about it, there's also a pretty stiff contradiction in combining the conservatism of country music (there may be hell-raising on Saturday night, but there's always a community to return to on Sunday) with the anarchy of punk. But if the punk influence only lasts long enough to infuse country and folk with the kind of renewed energy it brought to rock in the late '70s—and to expose them to a broader audience in the process—you know that can't be bad.

Steve Perry is a Minneapolis rock critic.

Insurance

Continued from page 11

In the boom-and-bust cycle of the insurance industry, any business or public service provider with liability coverage is lucky—even though the cost of the financial safety net may lead to bankruptcy.

What's the bottom line?

The insurance industry defends their rate hikes by directing critics' attention to the bottom line—phenomenal recent losses mandated change. "We are reaching the point in our society where some risks are just becoming uninsurable," says Marc Rosenberg, vice president of federal affairs for the Insurance Information Institute. "We're suffering losses that are unprecedented and unpredictable. The insurance industry lost \$3.8 billion last year."

The present dilemma, according to insurance industry representatives, originated in the '70s, when interest rates shot to record levels. In order to capitalize on the double-digit rates, insurance companies wrote as many policies as they possibly could. Consequently, a "rate war" resulted in greater coverage offered for less money. At about the same time, other factors entered the equation: increased litigation, natural disasters, asbestos and toxic chemical exposures and larger monetary awards by juries. Proliferating claims followed, as did collapsing interest rates. Soon underwriting losses exceeded investment income—by expanding and unhealthy margins, according to experts in property and casualty insurance.

"In pure statutory underwriting terms, the industry lost \$21 billion last year," says Joe Benyak of Alexander and Alexander, a large insurance brokerage firm. "Over the last five to seven years we had a market where we could please our clients with all the coverage they wanted. Now price and availability are the problem. The companies are trying to recover in one year what they've lost over the years."

Insurance customers are reacting differently to the current crisis. Those without the economic resources to pay the higher premiums are closing their doors, following on the heels of small, non-profit, high-risk operations that were unable to get insurance at any price. Some beleaguered public-sector customers are appealing to state legislators to bolster their statutory immunity and to state insurance regulators for protection from midterm policy cancellations. Recently, for example, New Jersey's Gov. Thomas Kean signed an emergency regulation barring insurers operating in his state from arbitrarily canceling coverage for municipalities and businesses.

Another popular alternative is self-insurance pools. Nine states—including Florida, Michigan, Texas and Minnesota—have established leagues of municipalities that operate pools offering liability insurance to their members. Other states are investigating similar possibilities.

Some high-risk service providers have had to scramble through an assortment of financial vehicles and insurance options to continue operating. The transit industry is a prime example of a necessary public service under intense economic pressure. "It's a serious dilemma for us," says Del Ison, risk manager of Washington, D.C.'s, Metropolitan Area Transit Authority. "Our premium went up 60 percent this year. Fortunately, we were able to renew."

Some transit companies function with little or no liability insurance. Chicago and Dallas fall into this risky category. "We've saved ourselves a lot of money over the years that would have gone on premiums for excess liability coverage," says Leon Wool, claims manager for the Chicago Transit Authority. "We're self-insured for an adequate amount. You'll save money if you're self-insured."

Wipe out

Yet many in the transit industry find such confidence unwarranted. "A major accident could wipe them out," says Philadelphia's Boone, who is keenly aware of the potential



companies are trying to recover in one year what they've lost over several years.

liability dangers. His company was recently found guilty of contributing to the permanent disability of one of its passengers who was hit by an automobile after leaving a bus. The jury awarded the injured party \$9 million, most of which SEPTA paid after the auto driver's coverage was exhausted. "Can you imagine the financial impact on the Chicago Transit Authority if they lost one of their elevated cars? The gamble is too great. You have to have excess liability coverage," says Boone.

Insurance companies and their clients believe exorbitant jury awards are a key ingredient of the problem. They say that jury verdicts have lost touch with reality, and now not only overcompensate the injured party, but also are having a clearly detrimental

effect on the general public. "Those individuals hurt or damaged should be awarded money, but not a sum that would hurt the larger society," says Thomas Darenborough Jr., director of communications for the Louisiana Municipal Association. His organization spearheaded a legislative reform campaign in the state during the summer that resulted in limits for liability claims. More and more public administrators agree with Darenborough: it is their job to "protect public tax money that provides necessary services like education, and police and fire protection."

Larry Donahue of Boston's Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority concurs. "Something has to be done. We have introduced our own bill into the state legislature to limit liability, but it won't go anywhere. Too many senators are also lawyers."

Even though legislative remedies are being popularly pursued, the onus of reform is still on the insurance companies. "We've done all we could," says Darenborough. "Now the insurance industry must do some reforming of its own."

"But nobody can really forecast what's going to happen," says Ison of the Washington, D.C., transit system. "The insurance industry is groping right now. There's no leadership by anyone in the industry."

Unfortunately, the current cycle of rates continues on an upward flight path with little relief in sight. And quick, painless solutions do not exist. It's likely that senior citizen centers, neighborhood clubs and small birthing facilities will bear the greatest burden. Larger, more financially stable organizations will probably survive, but the economic toll will be great.

Once again, it seems that when the insurance industry develops a cough, the general public can expect to come down with pneumonia.

Allen Hornblum is the chief government information officer of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority and teaches political science at Temple University.

Illustration by Nicole Hollander



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Radio

Continued from page 24

Historically, the senior electronic medium has had trouble adapting to the special needs of minority audiences. Most radio stations simply ignore them. But that's no longer the case in the more than 20 communities blessed with dual language public broadcasters.

The concept, pioneered in 1973 by a tiny non-commercial FM station in the northern California city of Santa Rosa, involves the integration of Spanish and English (and American Indian languages on 12 reservations) into as much program material as possible, allowing those who understand either language to remain interested and involved in programming.

From a single station 12 years ago, the bilingual broadcasting idea has spread to six Spanish-English stations and a dozen Indian-owned outlets, plus a handful serving various ethnic groups in Alaska.

The percentage of fully bilingual programming transmitted depends on the characteristics of each ethnic community.

In Denver only about 5 percent of Latinos speak Spanish at home. KUVO has Spanish-language and bilingual programming that caters to those listeners, but primarily broadcasts in English.

San Antonio, however, is a mostly Spanish-speaking city and KSTX emphasizes the language of its Mexican-descended majority on the air.

In California and Washington, where other Spanish/English stations have been on the air for several years, the emphasis is generally on Spanish, since the target audience includes farm laborers, many

of them undocumented workers from Mexico and Central America.

The Indian stations are sprinkled from Alaska to Arizona to Wisconsin, transmitting tribal news and music in more than a score of dialects.

Imperiled

Bilingual radio's growth has been stymied by government funding cutbacks to public broadcasting at both the state and federal level. Unlike fine arts stations, often supported by well-heeled listener-sponsors and universities, bilingual broadcasters are community-supported by low-income constituencies and occasional small grants. Pioneer KBBF, which frequently raises funds through Mexican-style fiestas, was recently dropped by the National Public Radio network for failure to pay programming bills. It and sister stations in Salinas and Fresno were hit hard by the California governor's decision three years ago to completely eliminate funds for public broadcasting from the state budget.

Hard economic times have forced the stations to scrimp on programming costs and lay off employees. There are constant rumors that one or more of the stations will soon have no choice but to shut down.

But despite the financial uncertainties affecting individual stations, the concept of bilingual/bicultural radio remains secure and modified versions of the format are in use in Los Angeles, San Diego and other Sun Belt cities. Several commercial stations are also experimenting with bilingualism on a limited basis. More significantly, the bilingual approach is finding a place on commercial television.

In Los Angeles, the first city to boast dual-language television programming,

properly-equipped viewers of *The Love Boat* on KTLA(TV) can watch the prime-time series (and local news) in either Spanish or English, simply by flipping a switch. The second audio program (SAP) system is made possible by the same technology that has made stereo television a reality in most American cities.

Another positive sign is the integration of bilingualism into single-channel programming. Southern California's KSCI (TV), for example, produces a nightly game show emceed by co-hosts who switch effortlessly from Spanish to English throughout the program.

Although about a dozen other stations around the country now simultaneously broadcast a Spanish-language soundtrack during local news and selected other programs, some observers are skeptical that these efforts will be widely imitated. They suggest that advertisers are only interested in the more affluent English-speaking Latino already served by mainstream media. Others think the high cost of specially-equipped TV sets will exclude the very audience that dual-

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 25-JAN. 15, 1985 23

language broadcasting seeks to engage.

Hope for our most malnourished media consumers springs from the state commitment of progressive broadcasters like KTLA station manager Steve Bell, who considers the investment in bilingualism more than justified. "Thirty-one percent of our market is Spanish-speaking," he noted when launching his station's enhanced audio service, "and our responsibility to communicate with them goes beyond profit or revenue."

Richard Mahler writes on media topics for *Broadcasting*, *Emmy*, *Channels* and other publications.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 13

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PLEASANT HILL, CA

January 25

"Three Minutes to Midnight: Superpower Intervention in the Third World and Nuclear War." 10:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. at Diablo Valley College. David MacMichael, Holly Sklar and (tentatively) Rep.'s Miller and Dellums. Focus on deadly economic, military and ideological connections. \$5 donation. Contact Mt. Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, CA 94596. 933-7850.

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racimar

racimar, *v.t.* (pro) to a *racima*.
racimo, *n.m.* bunch of grapes, cluster, raceme.
racimoso, *-sa*, *a.* full of grapes; racemose.
raciocinación, *n.f.* reasoning, reasoning.
raciocinar, *v.i.* to reason.
ración, *n.f.* ration, allowance, supply; prebend in a cathedral: *poner a ración*, to keep on short rations.
racionalidad, *n.f.* rationality.
racional, *a.* rational, reasonable. — *n.m.* (eccles.) rationale, altar, breastplate.
racionalidad, *n.f.* rationality.
racionalismo, *n.m.* rationalism.
racionalmente, *adv.* rationally.
racionar, *v.* to ration, issue rations.
racionero, *n.m.* distributor of rations; prebendary.
racionista, *n.m.* one who receives daily allowances; (heat.) utility man.
racha, *n.f.* gust, wind; streak of luck; flaw; (min.) piece of wood for shoring.
rada, *n.f.* (bot.) road, anchoring-ground, roadstead.
radal, *n.m.* (bot.) medicinal tree of the proteaceae family.
radiación, *n.f.* radiation.
radiactividad, *n.f.* radioactivity.
radiactivo, *-va*, *a.* radioactive.
radiado, *-da*, *a.* (bot.) radiated. — *n.m.*, *a.* (zool.) radiated.
radiador, *n.m.* radiator (heating and motor).
radial, *a.* (bot.) radial.
radiante, *a.* brilliant, shining.
radiantemente, *adv.* radiantly, flamingly.
radiar, *v.* to radiate.
radicación, *n.f.* radication, taking root; (fig.) long established use or practice.
radical, *a.* radical, original, fundamental, primitive, relating to the root.
radical, *(math.)* radical (the sign); (pol.) radical; (chem.) radical.
radicalismo, *n.m.* (pol.) radicalism.
radicalmente, *adv.* radically.
radicar, *v.* to take root; to settle.
radicare, *v.* to take root; to settle.
radicoso, *a.* radical.
radícula, *n.f.* (bot.) radicle.
radifero, *a.* radium-bearing.
radio, *n.m.* radius, circuit, (wire.) radio receiver.
radioactividad, *n.f.* radioactivity.
radioactivo, *-va*, *a.* radioactive.
radioemisión, *n.f.* broadcasting.
radioemisora, *n.f.* broadcasting station.
radioescucha, *n.m.f.* radio-listener.
radiofonía, *n.f.* radiophony.
radiografía, *n.f.* radiography.
radiografiar, *v.t.* to radiograph.
radiograma, *n.m.* radiogram.
radiología, *n.f.* radiology.
radiólogo, *n.m.* radiologist.
radiómetro, *n.m.* radiometer.
radio-receptor, *n.m.* radio-receiver.
radioescucha, *n.f.* radio magazine.
radioscopia, *n.f.* radioscopy.
radiante, *a.* radiant, diffusing light rays.
radiotelefonía, *n.f.* radiotelephony.
radiotelegrafía, *n.f.* radiotelegraphy.
radio-telegrafista, *n.m.* wireless operator.

rama

radio, *n.f.* radiotherapy.
radioemisor, *n.m.* radio-transmitter.
radioescucha, *n.m.f.* listener.
radioterapia, *n.f.* radiotherapy.
raedera, *n.f.* scraper, raker.
raedera, *a.* easily scraped.
raedor, *n.f.* scraper, eraser.
raedura, *n.f.* scrapings, filings, parings, erasure.
raer, *v.* to scrape, to rub off; (part. rayendo; pres. indic. raigo; subj. raiga; pret. él rayó) to scrape, to rub off; to fret, fray, rub off, abrade, to rub out; to lay aside; to efface (a habit).
rafa, *n.f.* buttress; irrigating trench or ditch, small opening in a canal; (vet.) crack in the hoof; (min.) cut in a rock to anchor a supporting arch.
ráfaga, *n.f.* gust of wind; flash of light; blast; small distant cloud burst (of gunfire).
rafe, *n.m.* (anat., bot.) raphe.
rafear, *v.t.* to support with buttresses.
rafia, *n.f.* (bot.) raffia.
rahez, *a.* low, vile.
raible, *a.* that is scraped or scratched.
raiceja, *-cilla*, *n.f.* rootlet, radicle.
raído, *-da*, *a.* worn out; frayed, threadbare; (anat., bot.) raphe.
raigal, *a.* relating to the root. — *n.m.* foot of a tree.
raigambre, *n.f.* mass of roots united.
raigón, *n.m.* large root; stump or root of back tooth.
raíl, *n.m.* rail.
raimiento, *n.m.* scorn, impudence, shamelessness.
raíz, *n.f.* (pl. raíces) radix; base, foundation, origin; a root close to the root; *cortar de raíz*, to nip in the bud; *de raíces*, from the roots; *raíces*, landed property; *echar raíz*, to fix or settle.
raja, *n.f.* crevice, crack, fissure, rent, portion, part, split; coarse cloth; roughly, forthrightly; *hacer car raja*, to get what one wants.
rajante, *a.* splintering.
rajar, *v.t.* to split, cleave, crack, rend. — *v.i.* to boast, chatter.
rajeta, *n.f.* sort of coarse cloth.
rajuela, *n.f.* small fissure, crack, rough stone of low quality.
ralea, *n.f.* race, breed, stock, quality, genus, species; prey (of predatory bird).
ralear, *v.i.* to thin, become thin.
raleón, *-na*, *a.* predatory (of bird).
raleza, *n.f.* thinness, rarity, liquidity.
ralo, *-la*, *a.* thin, rare, sparse.
ralladera, *n.f.*; **rallador**, *n.m.* grater.
ralladura, *n.f.* mark left by the grater.
rallar, *v.t.* to grate; to vex, molest.
rallo, *n.m.* grater, rasp, scraper.
rallón, *n.m.* arrow with crosshead.
rama, *n.f.* (bot.) branch, shoot, sprig, bough; rack in cloth-mills; (print.) chase;

By Richard Mahler

IN DENVER, LISTENERS ARE TAPPING THEIR TOES to Caribbean-flavored salsa. In San Antonio, they are swaying to *rancheras*, traditional songs of the Mexican farmer. In both cities, radio programs are interspersed with news about health services, political events and immigrant rights, delivered in both Spanish and English. With the sign-on last summer of KUVU (FM) Denver and KSTX (FM) San Antonio, bilingual broadcasting has finally reached the big cities of America.

Continued on page 23